

FBIHQ FILE
100-12304

SECTION : 4

PAUL ROBESON, SR.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.



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For your information: _____



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FBI Headquarters File 100-12304

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

W4

SAC, New York

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 29308

July 1, 1949

RECORDED - 71

PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

100-12304-151

Furnished for your information is a copy of a communication and attachment received from Confidential Informant [REDACTED] JC

b1

EX-115

Enclosure

FCZ:jdt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSC/TCH
REASON FOR EXT. 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/8/90

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 15

★ JUL 5 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED JUL 5 1949

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 19 1949

TELETYPE

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 43 19 2-21 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, ISC. NEW HAVEN REQUESTED TO RECHECK ELECTION AND CRIMINAL RECORDS OF SUBJECT AND CHECK FOR MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATION AND DRIVING LICENSE APPLICATION. IF ANY RECORD IS LOCATED, OBTAIN CERTIFIED COPY THEREOF. ALSO ASCERTAIN DATE SUBJECT AND FAMILY MOVED TO ENFIELD CONN. IF ELECTION RECORD IS LOCATED, OBTAIN INFO REFLECTING ADDRESS LAST REGISTERED FROM IN NEW YORK AND IF NOT LOCATED, CHECK RECORD FOR ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON FOR SAME.

SCHEIDT

NEW HAVEN ADVISED

END

NY R 48 WA

RECORDED - 142

100-12304-152
JUL 21 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSC/um

JUL 20 1949

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 15 1949

WESTERN UNION

WU AC17 PD

WESTMONT NJER JUL 15 508P

✓ EDGAR HOOVER

FBI

I RECOMMEND THAT THEY KEEP PAUL ROBESON OVER IN URSSIA

430

631P

RECORDED - 91

INDEXED - 91

EX-28

61 AUG 1 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/1/80 BY SP-5 RDB/CM

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Tele. Room	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

cc: Mr. Nichols

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO : Director, FBI

July 1, 1949

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT : [REDACTED] PAUL ROBESON:

SECURITY MATTER - C

On June 10, 1949, this office was in receipt of a letter which is being quoted below from [REDACTED] who is presently employed by the

"June 9, 1949

"I have just read the Times story on the FBI report on the Hollywood crowd. I don't know whether you need my testimony, but there is what I know, for whatever use you can make of it.

_____ Paul Robeson and
were members of the Communist Party before 1935, _____
As to the others names, I have no exact personal knowledge, except that
they were all considered to be at least fellow-travelers who could be trusted
by the Communist Party.

_____ attended meetings of the Communist fraction of the Theatre Union at which they were present.

When I last saw [redacted] he was wavering. He was quite friendly toward me and other anti-Communists present, which indicates that he was not then following party discipline. He was critical of the work of the Communists in Hollywood, but made it apparent that they were so influential that he did not dare to publicly repudiate them.

cc; NY 123-1537
NY 100-7125
NY 100-25857
NY 100-
Ny 100-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/6/79 BY SP-1

EWB:KAC
100-4078

INDEX OF ORIGINALS

85 JUL 10 1945

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 10-4078

"I hope this information may be of corroborative value,

"Sincerely,

/s/ [REDACTED]

In connection with the above quoted letter, an agent of this office interviewed [REDACTED] advised that he is presently residing at [REDACTED] and is employed as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was extremely cooperative and expressed anti-Communist remarks during the interview which indicated that he is hoping to see that the eleven Communists presently on trial in this District, will be convicted as well as successful convictions for other Communists who are on trial. [REDACTED] stated that he had no additional information other than that which is set out in the above quoted letter. [REDACTED] Theatre Union which he described as a unit of the Federal Play Producing Project whose members were either Socialist or Marxist, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that he considered the above three to be Communist Party members and no doubt at one time or another they held Communist party membership cards, but that they had never seen these cards, showing proof of their membership. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that at one time [REDACTED] was also connected with the Theatre Union [REDACTED] believed [REDACTED] also to be a Communist Party member, but [REDACTED] later dropped out of this group. It was his opinion that the above-mentioned people became secret members of the Communist Party on the suggestion of EARL BROWDER, who was head of the Party at that time, and that their membership in the Communist Party was not generally known in the rank and file. [REDACTED] stated that JOHN LAWSON produced the last play for the Theatre Union. It was [REDACTED] opinion that [REDACTED] was afraid to break with the Communist

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-4078

Party and that [REDACTED] indicated this to him in the conversation they had together a few years ago. [REDACTED] mentioned at [REDACTED] he did not desire to break with the Party because of the power they had in Hollywood circles and that his Communist group was doing more than anyone else to combat Fascism and Nazism during the war years. b7c b7D

[REDACTED] married [REDACTED] did not think that she was a card holding member of the Party, but she definitely is a Party sympathizer and follower.

[REDACTED] believes that [REDACTED] became a member of the Party around 1933 or 1935, but could not prove the same. [REDACTED] stated that PAUL ROBESON is considered almost sure to be a Party member and was used to great advantage by the Party in connection with his work on the stage and in Hollywood. [REDACTED] had no additional information of proof of CP membership for the above-mentioned people other than that set out above which is being furnished to the Bureau for their information.

SAC, NEW YORK

Director, FBI

July 22, 1949

PAUL ROBESON;

SECURITY MATTER - C

RE New York Letter dated July 1, 1949, captioned as above.

If you have not already done so you should make the information contained in that letter available to the Los Angeles and New Haven Divisions inasmuch as subjects mentioned therein are subjects of investigation by those offices. Los Angeles is origin in investigations on [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] is the subject of a closed investigation in which New Haven is origin.

cc: Los Angeles
cc: New Haven

LGD:jdt

~~100-7646~~
100-12304 - ✓
COMMUNICATIONS SECTIONS
JUL 22, 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/6/71 BY 81-165K/gfk

234
60 AUG 5-1949

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-12304-2

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

Bureau file 100-12305-154

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 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

American Embassy
1, Grosvenor Square
London, W.1
June 23, 1949

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL AIR POUCH~~

Director, FBI
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Re: PAUL ROBESON
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference previous correspondence regarding the above-captioned matter, terminating with my letter dated June 8, 1949, forwarding a news item which appeared in the Polish Press regarding Subject and which was made available to me by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

Very truly yours,

J. A. Cimperman

J. A. Cimperman
Legal Attache

JAC:CFJ
100-0
Enclosure

RECORDED - 52

INDEXED - 52

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSC/CLK
REASON: FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2 2.5
DATE OF REVIEW 12/5/90

NY
8-2-49
met/gold

Source

b1

10

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

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FBI Headquarters file 100-12304-155 (Enclosure)

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
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SAC, New York

August 2, 1949

Director, FBI

PAUL ROBSON
SECURITY MATTER - C
Bureau File #100-12304

RECORDED - 52 100-12304-155

For your information there is attached photostatic copies of a letter dated June 23, 1949, from Mr. J. A. Cimperman, Legal Attache in London [REDACTED]

Enclosure

LET:jdt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5 K26/KH

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 13

★ AUG 2 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AUG 11 1949

cc: Mr. L
Mr. Fletcher

August 2, 1949

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

The following information has been received which I thought would be of interest to the President and you:

A reliable source advised that [redacted] an official of the United Public Workers of America - CIO, has stated that Paul Robeson will come to Washington, D. C., on August 3, 1949, and assist in a picket line to be set up at the White House on August 4, 1949. This picket line is in protest of the alleged racial segregation at the Bureau of Engraving, Treasury Department. Indications are that Robeson will hold a press conference for Negro press representatives and an additional one for other representatives of the press. These conferences, according to this source, will probably be held prior to the regular White House press conference on Thursday, August 4, 1949.

In the event further pertinent information is received in this regard, you will be promptly advised.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/80 BY SP-5 RSB/clm

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 YER
MAY 16 1977

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
BY
SPECIAL MESSENGER
★ AUG 2 1949 RECORDED - 115
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

45 AUG 8 1949

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI AIR MAIL
 FROM : SAC, San Francisco
 SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
 SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: 9-12-49

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TOLSON

HMT
on

b1

[REDACTED] reported that at a meeting [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was asked, "what about PAUL ROBESON?"

He replied, "It was originally set for September 30th in Los Angeles, and the week following that in San Francisco. San Francisco has decided that they do not want him--that there is not enough time to prepare for him. BILL TAYLOR in Los Angeles) said that they are not sure yet if they have Wrigley Field. I guess they are still going through with it in L. A."

The foregoing is submitted for your information.

cc - Los Angeles

JGS:mes

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 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSC/CW
 REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
 DATE OF REVIEW 12/8/90

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED - 93

INDEXED - 93

1100-12304-157

5 SEP 14 1949

4-10

TOLSON

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. H. B. Fletcher *HBF*
 FROM : E. F. Linberg *EFL*
 SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
 SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: September 10, 1949

Tolson	
Ladd	
Clegg	
Glavin	
Nichols	
Rosen	
Tracy	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

PURPOSE:

To record a telephone call from [REDACTED] stating that he was not in favor of the principles of Paul Robeson.

BACKGROUND:

[REDACTED] telephonically advised at 7:15 p. m. today that he was "drunk" and that he wanted to let the Bureau know what he thought of PAUL ROBESON. [REDACTED] cursed ROBESON and stated that he thought someone should "get" him.

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] had formerly worked for Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

[REDACTED] advised that he has had conversations with Assistant Director Nichols about his organization the [REDACTED] complimented the Bureau on its excellent work and personnel.

STATUS:

Closed.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the fact [REDACTED] had no specific information to offer no action is necessary.

EFL/wfb *wfb*

INDEXED - 28

100-12304-158
 F B I
 3 SEP 15 1949

ADDENDUM

[REDACTED] called again Sunday evening Sept. 11, 1949 and this time in addition to cursing PAUL ROBESON went into a tirade against the Catholic religion. He appeared to be highly intoxicated. He called at 6:00 p.m.

SEP 21 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/18/80 BY SP-5 256101M

18

b7C

[REDACTED]

Sept. 6, 1949

F. B. I. Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I think its about
time the the American
Legion itself was
investigated for un-American
activities when it ^{he} decides

who shall sing songs +
when + where here

in supposedly free America.

RECORDED - 127 100-12304-159

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSC/K/M

2011-2-9-11-49
61-9-9-47
ALA

I refer to the national disgrace
of the Robeson affair

near Peekskill N.Y.
this Post week.

It seems that
Hitler (the American
League) has already
won the war!

→ S; newly

b7c

SEP 7

RECEIVED
REGISTRATION SECTION

SEP 7 11 03 '49

4/6
1949

11/

September 12, 1949

RECORDED - 127
INDEXED - 127

100-12304-159

Dear Madam:

Your letter dated September 6, 1949, has been received and is being made a matter of record in the files of this Bureau.

Very truly yours,

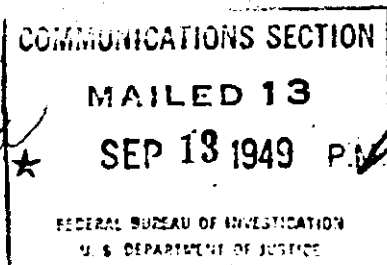
John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent protests action allegedly taken by the American Legion in connection with the Paul Robeson riots at Peekskill, New York, recently. She says this is a "free America." No identifiable information in Bureau files concerning correspondent.

ARA:mcq

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/5/80 BY SP-5 RJS/CLM

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____



RECEIVED
SEP 13 5 35 PM '49
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

58 SEP 22 1949

0067C [REDACTED]
Mr. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am a Colonel & G.I. of the
War II and was an instructor
at Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo.

Some of my comrades and myself
have been having quite a
discussion over Paul Robeson.

He can not answer questions
for our people and we do
not appreciate it.

RECORDED - 127 100-12304-160
F B I
21 SEP 15 1949
We would like to have this
matter investigated and it
must definitely be stopped.
I would appreciate an immediate
answer.

67C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 BJK/2

Sincerely,
[REDACTED]

RECORDED - 127

September 8, 1949

INDEXED - 127

100-12304-160

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter postmarked September 5, 1949, has been received.

You may be sure that the thoughts which prompted your communication are appreciated and I am grateful for your action in making available to me the views outlined in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SEP 9 12 09 PM '49

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

NOTE: Correspondent, a colored war veteran, protests the activities of Paul Robeson and requests that he be investigated.

ARA:mcp

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/15/60 BY SP-5 RSC/KIM

Post Office Box 812
Chicago, 90, Illinois

September 19, 1949

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Director, FBI

Re: CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Information has been received from [redacted] and [redacted] to the effect that concerts will be given by the Negro singer, PAUL ROBESON, in Chicago as follows:

September 23, 1949 - 8:00 PM, Bakers Hall, 218 West Oak St.

September 24, 1949 - 8:00 PM - Tabernacle Church, 4130 Indiana Avenue. Dr. LEWIS RAWLES is pastor of this church.

September 25, 1949 - 2:30 PM - People's Auditorium, 2457 West Chicago Avenue.

[redacted] advised that the Catholic veterans organization, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Legion, and several Negro organizations in Chicago have been contacted relative to the scheduled ROBESON appearances and have advised that they will have no protest pickets at any of the above scheduled meetings. He also advised the Chicago Office that there will be a sufficient number of police detailed at each of the ROBESON meetings to prevent any disturbances or situations that might arise at the above mentioned concerts.

The local offices of the Office of Naval Intelligence, Intelligence Department of the Army, and Office of Special Investigations have been advised of the scheduled concerts to be given by PAUL ROBESON.

Very truly yours,

G. R. McSwain
SAC

DECLASSIFIED BY 6050 YLR

MAY 16 1987

cc: New York

HBB:AWJ 100-18155 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-15-78 BY SP-5 RSC/SM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)
DATE 6-2-77

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director FBI

DATE: September 21, 1949

FROM: SAC, Detroit

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

This is to advise that Subject will appear in Detroit, Michigan, from October 8 through 11, 1949. At the present time the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan is taking charge of all arrangements for ROBESON'S visit to Detroit. Present arrangements call for a mass meeting to be held on October 9, 1949, at 7:00 p.m., at a large hall located at Forest and Hastings Streets in Detroit. In addition, there will be a testimonial banquet given at the Lucy Thurman, YWCA, downtown Detroit. The exact date of this banquet is unknown, although it will be during the above-mentioned period.

Confidential Informants have advised that all of ROBESON'S appearances will be limited to the negro community in the Detroit area, and that considerable precautions are being taken to forestall trouble similar to that which recently occurred in Peekskill, New York.

The appearance of ROBESON in Detroit, and the activities participated in by him are being followed closely by this office. Of significance is the fact that the mass rally will be held at the building where the Detroit race riot started in 1943.

To date, there is no indication that any organized opposition to ROBESON'S appearance in this area is being organized; although Informants have advised that the local newspapers have inquired of the Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party concerning ROBESON'S proposed visit to the area.

Any unusual incidents in connection with ROBESON'S appearance in Detroit will be promptly reported to the Bureau.

EHS:CGB
100-15889
cc: New York City

RECORDED - 97

100-12304-161
F B I

31 SEP 23 1949

EX-15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5 RSC/ML

180
57 SEP 28 1949



**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
500 Widener Building
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania**

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

September 23, 1949

Director, FBI

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

**RE: COMMITTEE OF 1000 TO BRING
PAUL ROBESON TO PHILADELPHIA
OCTOBER 14, 15, and 16, 1949
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

Dear Sir:

Information has been received from a number of confidential informants in the Philadelphia area concerning the above organization, which was created to bring PAUL ROBESON to the city of Philadelphia on the dates mentioned. The main feature of his visit is to be a mass gathering at the Metropolitan Opera House, Broad and Poplar Streets in Philadelphia on the evening of October 14, 1949. Details concerning ROBESON's activities on the 15th and 16th have not been revealed.

Considerable effort is being exerted by District #3, CP USA, Headquarters in Philadelphia, to assure a large turnout to the rally on October 14, and tickets are being sold at 50¢ each, including tax, with a special admission of 25¢ each for youth and unemployed.

The CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, the PHILADELPHIA COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, and numerous labor groups are contributing their names as members of the COMMITTEE OF 1000. It has also been learned that the COMMITTEE is occupying office space in the offices of the International Office of FOOD, TOBACCO, AGRICULTURAL & ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA - CIO, which are located at 20th and Race Streets, Philadelphia.

RECORDED - 55

INDEXED - 65

The above is furnished for information.

SEP 28 1949

Very truly yours,

L. V. BOARDMAN,
Special Agent in Charge.



DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 YAD

MAY 16 1977

JPK:MEMCG
100- 29215

cc: New York
100-33636 (DOMESTIC
ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
100-33143 (CP NEGRO QUESTION)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/16 BY SP-5 PSC/ML

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (8) OF
DATE 9-23-49

Handwritten initials

Handwritten 'm'

Handwritten file number: 100-12304-16

[REDACTED]

Sept. 17 - 1949

Hon J Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation 49-1
Washington DC.

Dear Sir: -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSC/DA

Not knowing just to whom
I should address this memo so that
proper action could be taken I would
appreciate your directing this information
to the proper branch of our government
for action.

This pertains to the wearing
of the uniform of the U.S. Armed
Services.

RECORDED - 28 100-12304-163
EX-15 FBI
21 SEP 27 1949

As a Loyal American I call
your attention to the write up that
was given by the newspapers in
New York City to the meeting
held in Pecks Hill N.Y. by the
Communists when these people

met on 9/24/49 was

File 100-12304-163

glorified that snake John Roberson.

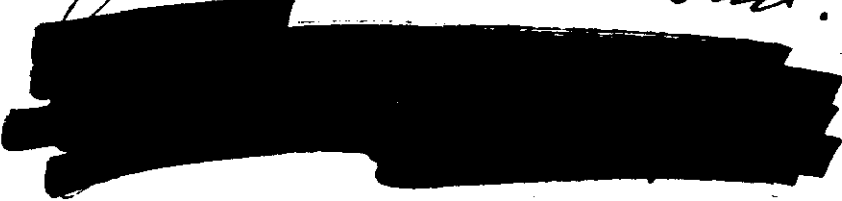
The newspaper told us that the chairman of this meeting was a person by the name of Spanner who was Vice Pres. of C. I. O. Clothing Workers, that this man wore the uniform of an officer of the Armed Services that day.

The question is:::

Are we going to allow these Communies to hide themselves by wearing the uniform, carrying our flag and marching behind same for Protection while they work to overthrow our government. Some time ago May Day Parade by the Reds on 8th Ave New York City I saw many of these dogs parading in the Army and Navy uniform carrying the

Red Banding and organizing the
Communist camp.

If I recall there is a law
which pertains to when and
where one can wear the uniform
of the U. S. so let's get busy
you have every thing you need
for evidence (newspaper write ups
and their pictures) to press charges
against this Red Spidore Strauss
the Vice Pres of the C. I. O. Garment
workers and his underdogs in
disgracing our uniform.
Yours for Americanism.

 b7C
Vet of World War I.

[REDACTED] b7c
Sept. 17, 1949

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Not knowing just to whom I should address this memo so that proper action could be taken I would appreciate your directing this information to the proper branch of our government for action.

This pertains to the wearing of the uniform of the U. S. Armed Services:

As a loyal American I call your attention to the write up that was given by the news papers in New York City to the meeting held in Peeks Kill, N.Y. by the Communists when these people glorified that snake Paul Robeson.

The newspaper told us that the Chairman of this meeting was a person by the name of Strauss who was vice Pres. of C.I.O. Clothing Workers, that this man wore the Uniform of an Officer of the Armed Services that day.

The question is: Are we going to allow these Commies to hide themselves by wearing the Uniform, carrying our Flag and Marching behind same for protection while they work to overthrow our government. Some time ago May Day Parade by the Reds on 8th Ave New York City I saw many of these dogs parading in the Army and Navy Uniform carrying the Red Banner and singing the Commies Songs.

If I recall there is a law which pertains to when and where we can wear the Uniform of the U. S. so lets get busy you have every thing you need for evidence (newspaper write ups and their pictures) to press charges against this Red Isidore Strduss. the Vice Pres. of the C.I.O., Garment Workers and his underdogs in disgracing our uniform.

Yours for Americanism.

S m b
/s/
[REDACTED] b7c
C O P Y
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/00 BY SP5 RSC/MLT

September 22, 1949

RECORDED - 28

INDEXED - 28

100-12304-163

EX-15

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated September 17, 1949, has been received, and I wish to thank you for the interest which prompted your action in bringing to my attention the information outlined in your communication.

If at any time you have in your possession specific information relating to subversive activities or other matters coming within the jurisdiction of the FBI I would appreciate your furnishing details to Mr. S. K. McKee, Special Agent in Charge of our Newark Office, 1836 Raymond-Commerce Building, Newark 2, New Jersey.

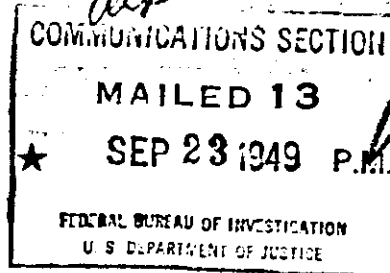
Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc: Newark, with copy of incoming.

ARA:atp

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5 RSC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

September 26, 1949

ROUTINE

Transmit the following message to: SAC, NEW YORK

PAUL ROBESON, SECURITY MATTER - C. REREP SA [REDACTED] DATED JULY TWENTY-FIVE
NINETEEN FORTY-FIVE AT NEW YORK. SYNOPSIS STATES ROBESON'S CPA NAME IS JOHN
THOMAS. DETAILS OF REPORT STATE THIS IS HIS CP NAME. REREP SA [REDACTED] DATED
JULY SIX, NINETEEN FORTY-NINE AT NEW YORK REFLECTING ROBESON'S CPA NAME IS
JOHN THOMAS. ADVISE WHETHER THOMAS IS ROBESON'S CP OR CPA NAME. DIRECT YOUR
REPLY TO THE ATTENTION OF THE LOYALTY SECTION.

HOOVER

W.L. Smith

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5 RCB

COPIES DESTROYED 4-30-58
R-38

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 26 1949

TELETYPE

SENT VIA

532 PM

Per

TR

5:00 PM
138

RECORDED - 35

100-12304-164

SEP 26 1949

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 27 1949

TELETYPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Jones	.....
Mr. Quinn	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

WASHINGTON 21 FROM NEW YORK 27 5-43 P

DIRECTOR ROUTINE

ATT...LOYALTY SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

PAUL ROBESON, ISC. REDUTEL SEPT. TWENTYSIX LAST. RE REPORT SA
[REDACTED] WHEREIN ROBESON-S CPA NAME IS JOHN THOMAS. ORIGINAL SOURCE
OF INFO IS MEMO IN FILE BY SA [REDACTED] DATED APR. TWENTY
SEVEN, FORTYFOUR AT NY. HOWEVER, MEMO STATES [REDACTED] ADVISED
THAT JOHN THOMAS IS COMMUNIST PARTY NAME OF SUBJ. INADVERTENTLY
THE NAME JOHN THOMAS WAS REPORTED AS BEING THE CPA NAME OF SUBJ WHEREAS
IT WAS INTENDED TO BE THE CP NAME. IF BUREAU DESIRES LEAD MAY BE
DIRECTED TO ALBANY TO INTERVIEW FORMER INFORMANT [REDACTED] AS TO b1

b7D [REDACTED] STATEMENT. RECORDED - 93 100-12304-165
SCHEIDT 23 OCT 7 1949

END ACK PLS

OCT 13 1949
NY R 21 SA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSC/CM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/8/90

Director, FBI

October 4, 1949

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
Security Measures
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Bufile 100-3-34)

Reufolet September 16, 1949, concerning the fact that the Communist Party expects violence at the ROBESON Rally to be held at 8:30 P. M., at Turner's Arena on October 13, 1949.

PAUL [redacted] has today advised that it is tentatively planned that ROBESON will arrive in Washington on the morning of October 13, 1949, and on arrival will register at the Dunbar Hotel, 15th and U Streets, N. W. If ROBESON arrives early enough, a luncheon will be held at the Washington Bookshop, after which he will make an appearance at the Howard University. A dinner will be given for him at the Dunbar Hotel which will be attended by a "select few". It is planned for ROBESON to go to Turner's Arena about 8:00 P. M. He will leave Washington for Pittsburgh the morning of October 14, 1949.

[redacted] is presently checking information to the effect that Local 74 of the Hod Carriers Union plans to have armed members in attendance at the ROBESON Rally and further, that ROBESON will be accompanied by an armed bodyguard on his trip to Washington.

[redacted] advises that should it appear that members of Local 74 are to attend the Rally armed, [redacted] 20 security guards at the Rally who will search everyone before allowing them to enter the Arena. [redacted] further advises that ROBESON will not be allowed to have an armed bodyguard while in Washington and that should he appear with any bodyguard whatsoever, armed or otherwise, [redacted] will take those steps necessary to completely identify these persons and determine their background.

JHH:cl

100-121-6

cc - WFO File 100-17953

cc - New York

cc - Baltimore

100-12304-
NOT RECORDED

147
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DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5/KS/CLM

INITIALS ON ONE

New York, N. Y., New York

September 22, 1949

Director, FBI

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - BRIEF
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Revyet of September 21, 1949 transmitting the digest from the official transcript of the testimony given on September 19, 1949 in the matter of the United States versus William Z. Foster; ET AL (C-123-37; ET AL) Southern District of New York, United States District Court, Judge Harold R. Medina presiding.

Attached herewith is the digest of the testimony given on September 20, 1949.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD SCHEIDT
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosures (5)
SPECIAL DELIVERY

cc: Assistant Director, E. J. Connelley
NY 100-9363
NY 100-269 [REDACTED] b7c

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) [REDACTED]
DATE 6-30-77

WJR/rbj
100-21752

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MAY 16 1977

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73 SEP 26 1949

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DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSM/UM

CAR:REJ
NY 100-51752

(Foster - Redirect)
(Tr. 9/20/49)

(Tr. 14,631) The Court convened at 10:30 a.m. with the attorneys for the defendants present with the exception of ISSERMAN and GLADE LIE for whom the usual stipulation was filed. The Court suggested that counsel for both sides discuss later in the day the matter of the coming Jewish holidays and agree on what days court should not be held.

(Tr. 14,632) McCABE read the questions of the deposition of WILLIAM L. FOSTER and GATES read the answers. McCABE started with the subject of the change of policy expressed in the book "Towards Soviet America". In connection with question 25 FOSTER referred to the Soviet court system and said with the change of their line due to the development of Fascism, they had departed from the material contained in point 25 about the Soviet court system as applied to the United States. Their position in that matter, which was developed prior to 1945, is that the United States Government is based upon the principle of maintaining capitalism. The laws of the country are based upon this principle and our courts are established for the enforcement of these laws. In our federal courts particularly, men are appointed who will carry out these laws which are fundamentally capitalist. They consider that the courts, particularly the courts of appointed Judges, are little, if any, of a bulwark of American democracy. FOSTER distinguished the jury system from the court system. The jury system, he said, outdates capitalism by several centuries. Thus, although our courts may be based upon class conception of justice and class laws, nevertheless it is possible for jurors, although hedged about by many capitalistic restrictions, to render democratic decisions in the Court. Therefore, while they expressed their conception that the courts as such are class courts, nevertheless they recognize that jurors can and often do bring in just, honest, and democratic decisions.

(Tr. 14,634) Referring to cross interrogatory 26, which refers to pages 214 and 215 of "Towards Soviet America", FOSTER stated that the substance of this quotation is what the Communists refer to as a conception of the breaking up of the state itself, the reorganization of society on a Socialist basis. He said he thought this whole basis is outmoded for the reasons he had given regarding their change of policy and he said it no longer serves as a guide in any sense for the Party. FOSTER said that prior to April, 1945 in his advocacy and teaching of Marxist-Leninist principles he had modified the position he expressed in his book "From Bryan to Stalin" with particular reference to the quotations appearing in cross interrogatories 29 to 31. He said this book, written twelve years ago, was written in a period of transition from their old to new policy. It, therefore, contains many elements of the old line and is no longer used as a guide by the CP in the shaping of policy. It has a certain value, however, and if it is used in the schools, it is because it contains important historical material about the growth of left wing trade unionism in this country and the formation of the CP. Otherwise the book is politically obsolete.

(Tr. 14,635) FOSTER said he had no comment on point 29 as it was covered in previous answers. He said that point 30 is an estimate of the political role of LININ and is substantially correct from a factual standpoint. However, it has to be read in the light of the changes of policy that the Party has undergone since it was written. FOSTER said that point 31 had been already answered. FOSTER

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ENCLOSURE

CAR:REJ
NY 100-81782

(Foster - Redirect)
(TR. 9/20/49)

stated that the quotation contained in point 33, which refers to the article in the December, 1939 "The Communist", does not in and of itself state his position on the use of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the CP, USA at the time it was written. He said that the quotation in point 33 from the article "Lenin and Stalin as Mass Leaders" is unrepresentative of the article because it directs attention to the study of the Marxian classics generally and does not indicate the purposes for which this study should be conducted. Marxism-Leninism is a world point of view dealing with each phase of intellectual activity. This article was directed to the study of Marxism as a whole and the product of this study is to produce more effective mass workers, better trade unionists, better leaders of the national people, better American citizens in general, and to produce a people who know what is actually happening in the country and what to do about it. The supreme objective of all this teaching and the use of all these classics is the development of tactical policy by the CP. The supreme end product of the study of Marxism is the day to day policies of the CP and this quotation by including all of these broader and more fundamental aspects of the study of Marxism-Leninism and just focusing upon this one picture ignores the very heart of the teaching of Marxism and falsifies the article.

(TR. 14,637) FOSTER was referred to "The Communist" for December, 1937, Foster Exhibit 7 for identification, with reference to the article "Lenin and Stalin as Mass Leaders" beginning on page 1120. He was asked what other sections or quotations from the article are necessary to fully explain the quotation set forth in point 33. FOSTER said that his general answer would stand except that he would add a few lines which indicate that their study of the classics must always be undertaken in the light of the specific national conditions. He quoted, "Lenin and Stalin themselves have given the clearest examples of how to apply international Marxism to specifically national conditions. They have always stressed the need for the Communist Parties of the various lands to know their peoples well; to analyze the national traditions and peculiarities of their countries and to apply Marxism not mechanically but specifically to their native conditions."

(TR. 14,638) FOSTER was referred to point 34 and was asked to explain his agreement or disagreement with respect to the "History of the CPSU" (Bolsheviks). FOSTER said that point 34 seems to be just a recital of certain events during the Russian Revolution and has no reason to dispute their authenticity. The book itself is a history of the Russian Revolution and a history of Marxian thought and action all over the world. In this sense it is an invaluable document for those who wish to become acquainted with the principles and experience of Marxism and especially with regard to the Russian Revolution. However, with this book, as with all other books of this general character, we must bear in mind specific American conditions and in no sense are they to be used as blueprints for the working out of the policies in the United States.

(TR. 14,640) FOSTER was referred to points 35 and 36 and was asked if he had abandoned or modified the position he expressed in his article "The War Aims of American Imperialism" published in "The Communist" of April, 1940. FOSTER stated

that he had modified it with the development of events. Briefly his position and that of the Party was that the war in its initial stages was an imperialist war. The objectives of the great monopolists of France, Great Britain and the United States were imperialist objectives. President ROOSEVELT was a liberal and no doubt wanted to fight Fascism within the framework of imperialist capitalism but the decisive capitalist forces in the country had a different idea in mind. If the war had gone no further it would have been just an imperialist war. FOSTER said that in his opinion had it not been for the entry of the Soviet Government into the war, it would have been another imperialist war. It was the entry of the Soviet Government that changed his general outlook upon the war. This gave strength to the democratic forces of all the world who wanted to fight Fascism to really conduct an anti-Fascist war.

(R. 14,641) FOSTER stated that in connection with point 37 in connection with the advocacy and teaching of Marxist-Leninist principles, he modified the position he expressed in his pamphlet entitled "The Railroad Workers and the War" published in May, 1941. He said that he modified his position and he thought his previous answer covered this point. FOSTER admitted that as chairman of the CP, USA he issued the statement "Support the U.S.S.R. in its fight against a Nazi war", which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on June 23, 1941. That statement was an official statement of the CP, USA on the date it was published but it did not represent a fundamental change in the policy of the CP, USA toward the war in Europe.

(R. 14,642) FOSTER stated that it represented a change in policy but not a fundamental reorientation of their line. The decision was arrived at by the application of Marxist-Leninist principles. It did not represent a fundamental change of line because prior to the war the CP, USA had conducted a long struggle against the Fascist forces at home and abroad and had undertaken to promote the ideas of the united front of all peace-loving countries against the Axis powers. The war meant a sharpening of this policy. The war itself made the difference between participation as against non-participation. FOSTER was referred to page 223 of the March, 1948 issue of "Political Affairs" appearing in point 46 which is a quotation of part of an article by EUGENE DENNIS entitled "The Role of the CP in the Present Situation". FOSTER agreed that this article was part of a report on the political situation in the United States and the tasks ahead delivered by DENNIS at a National Committee meeting of the CP, USA held February 3 to 5, 1948. FOSTER said he was present when that report was rendered and as chairman of the CP, USA concurred in that report. He said it represents the present role of the CP, USA as a Marxist-Leninist party.

(R. 14,644) FOSTER said that the report dealt with the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the current situation in the United States. He said that it explains and puts in proper context the quotation appearing on page 223 set forth in point 46. FOSTER stated that he was in full agreement with the text of the statement in point 46 but that the text in no sense represents the line of the article. The article is a general statement of policy and this taking one small item out of context

CAP:RAJ
NY 100-81752

(Foster - Redirect)
(R. 9/20/49)

tends to distort the purpose of the article. This is significant because it is precisely what the Prosecution has been doing with their policy. The living part of the policy has been ignored and not included in these hearings. He said he had not been asked a single question about the Party's policy by the Prosecution.

(R. 14,645) FOSTER referred to the quotation, point 26, from DENNIS' article, "The Role of the CP in the Present Situation" and said he desired to direct attention to two paragraphs to show the distortion that is made by the citation of this paragraph alone. He read, "For a people's government that will advance the question of peace, security and democracy! For an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly people's government!"

"What is projected in this slogan, it should be made clear, is a political objective that reflects the united front program which is bringing into a broad coalition all the anti-democratic and anti-imperialist forces including the present third party movement. Such a people's government as here projected, in terms of American realities today, as regards both the objective factors and the forces comprising the people's coalition and third party movement, would not be of the level of development of the new people's democracies in Europe, for such a government on the American scene in the immediate period would set itself as the main immediate task the drastic curbing of the monopolies but its political level would not yet present it with the task of breaking the rule of the monopolies and thereby effecting the transition to Socialism." FOSTER said that it was the intent of these classes, as shown in these paragraphs, to produce the policy that is incorporated in these two paragraphs which he requested inserted in the record.

(R. 14,647) FOSTER admitted writing the article "On the Theoretical Work of the Party" appearing in the April, 1948 issue of "Political Affairs", page 319 to 326. He said he wrote this article as chairman of the CP, USA and that it deals with the theoretical work of the Party in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It explains the position of the CP, USA in respect to the teaching, study, advocacy and application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the CP, USA. FOSTER said that they took the position that BROWDER had forgotten or abandoned his Marxism. He forgot that a capitalist is a capitalist and is interested in securing as great profits as he can. FOSTER said that with regard to BROWDER he made the point that the study of Marxism would prevent the Party from making these mistakes in the future and that it is precisely in the every day policies that a solid grounding of Marxism is necessary.

(R. 14,648) FOSTER stated that the article explains and puts in proper context the quotation on page 321 set forth in point 47. He said, however, that again they have the same tendency to single out all references to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and to ignore completely the purpose for which these people are studied, namely to work out practical policies to meet the conditions of the workers and the people here and now in the United States.

CAMPBELL
NY 100-81752

(Foster - Redirect)
(TR. 9/20/49)

(TR. 14,649) FOSTER was referred to cross interrogatory 59, "Did you ever use a passport not issued in your name?" to which he had answered, "I have." FOSTER stated that the basic reasons he had used passports under names other than his own was because of the situation in Europe. It was very difficult for a left winger or a Communist to travel in many countries. Some countries, like Great Britain, maintained a black list and would not let well-known radicals travel through the country. This was one of the major considerations for such Communists as did use passports under other names. A second consideration was that Communists were so persecuted in this country that many felt that they would not be accorded the common right of citizenship to travel if they asked for passports. In his own case in 1941 when he first used a passport under another name, this was the period of the Palmer Raids, the period when the Ku Klux Klan claimed five million members, and the period of the great drive against organized labor.

(TR. 14,650) FOSTER continued saying that he had been the leader of the steel strike a year or so before. He was not a Communist but had been blasted all over the country as a red by the steel trust in the capitalist press. The editor of the AP of 1 paper, the "Wheeling Majority" in Wheeling, West Virginia, told him that the steel industry had been so inflamed against him that any steel trust gunman could put a bullet in his forehead on Main Street and would not even be arrested. This was the situation and it was his impression that he could not get a passport if he asked for one. He thought that the situation in Russia was of such gigantic proportions that he should study it and he undertook to do so. Many others were in similar positions.

(TR. 14,651) FOSTER stated that the Communists are being persecuted and denied the most elemental rights, the right to hold government jobs and the right to teach. He said it is a deplorable thing that such laws exist that provoke their own violation such as the Jim Crow laws in the South.

(TR. 14,651) FOSTER was referred to cross interrogatory 106 relating to the "Foundations of Leninism" and he was asked if he would explain the nature of his disagreement. FOSTER stated that he had previously answered this at length but wanted to add that the sum and substance of the policy that flow out of Marxian-Leninism are expressed in the daily work and perspectives of the Party. The fight to improve the economic conditions of the people, the fight to improve the civil liberties of the people and especially to give whatever assistance they can to the negro people in their deplorable position, the fight to preserve the peace of the world. These are their daily activities. It is on an educational stage and all this talk about conspiracies or about establishing Socialism in the United States overnight is so much nonsense. So far as securing government power is concerned, they have the perspective of the election of a coalition government, a progressive people's front which will have the natural impulse to move in the direction of Socialism. FOSTER was referred to Government Exhibit 2, the greetings to Stalin at the 7th World Congress, and was asked if it coincided with his evaluation of Stalin, in his capacity as chairman of the CP, U.S.A in the period April, 1945 to July 20, 1945. FOSTER replied that

CAC:DEJ
NY 100-91752

(Foster - Redirect)
(TR. 9/20/46)

in a previous answer he had made his explanation of the whole episode.

(TR. 14,652) At this point McARTHUR concluded the redirect interrogatories.

(TR. 14,653) SACHER stated that there was some confusion in the order of witnesses and asked for a ten minute recess. This was granted to await the arrival of the next witness.

CAR:RJ
NY 100-81752

(Robeson - Direct)
(Ex. 9/20/49)

Paul Robeson
Enfield, Connecticut

Transcript page 14,653
September 20, 1949

BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

PAUL ROBESON testified that he resides at Enfield, Connecticut. He was born in Princeton, New Jersey and has been an actor and singer for many years. He attended Rutgers University and graduated from Columbia Law School in February, 1923.

DIRECT EXAMINATION OF ROBESON BY CROCKETT

CROCKETT asked ROBESON if his father was born in slavery.

(TR. 14,654) McGOVEY objected. Sustained. McGOVEY stated that ROBESON may not have been familiar with court procedure and he asked that ROBESON be reminded that a sufficient time should be allowed for the interjection of an objection. The Court said it assumed that ROBESON understood that and it did not see any occasion to speak of that as yet.

(TR. 14,655) ROBESON agreed that he has been an actor and a singer for many years. He said he began acting when he was a student at Columbia Law School. He played at the Provincetown Theater. The Court interrupted to point out to ROBESON that it has had trouble in the trial when a person asked a simple question that could be answered yes or no, felt compelled to go into a long description. The Court suggested that ROBESON make his answers brief and to the point. ROBESON agreed that he had studied law at Columbia under Judge Medina and had graduated in February, 1923, having entered in February, 1920. He stated that he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers University. He stated that he knows all of the defendants.

(TR. 14,656) ROBESON said that he has been very well acquainted with DAVIS for many years. CROCKETT asked when and where he first met DAVIS.

(TR. 14,656) McGOVEY objected. Sustained.

The Court asked CROCKETT if ROBESON had been called as a character witness. CROCKETT said that he was not called as a character witness as he understands the term character witness. The Court said it would again sustain the previous objection. CROCKETT asked if ROBESON was not one of the first All-American football players.

(TR. 14,656) McGOVEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked if he knew DAVIS when DAVIS was a football player at Amherst.

(TR. 14,656) McGOVEY objected. Sustained.

CAP:FEJ
NY 100-81752

(Robeson - Direct)
(Tr. 8/20/48)

ROBESON said he had heard DAVIS speak many times. CROCKETT asked if he ever had occasion to talk with DAVIS concerning his political or economic beliefs.

(Tr. 14,656) McCORMY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked the following questions, all of which were objected to and sustained:

"Will you tell us some of the occasions when you say you heard DAVIS speak?"

"Have you heard DAVIS speak as a representative of the CP, US?"

"On what occasions have you heard DAVIS speak as a representative of the CP, US?"

(Tr. 14,657) The Court stated it was sure that CROCKETT remembered the discussion of its rulings and it seemed unnecessary for it to repeat them. The Court said that if CROCKETT had something that ROBESON could testify to, he should address himself to it but it was futile to continue the sort of thing that the Court had repeatedly ruled out. CROCKETT said that these were preliminary questions and that he was seeking to establish a foundation for other testimony which he proposed to get through this witness.

CAP:FKJ
NY 100-81752

(Robeson - Direct)
(TR. 9/20/49)

(TR. 14,658) The Court remarked that ROBESON was not a character witness and it could not imagine what other testimony this would be preliminary to. In any event it had ruled them out.

ROBESON stated that he had known GATES for about 11 years. CROCKETT asked where he first met GATES.

(TR. 14,658) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked if he had ever heard GATES speak as a representative of the CP.

(TR. 14,658) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

ROBESON stated that he knew POTASH very well. CROCKETT asked on what occasion he first met POTASH.

(TR. 14,658) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

ROBESON said he had known POTASH for 6 or 7 years. He also said that he has known GREEN for "some years".

(TR. 14,659) ROBESON said that he has known THOMPSON for just a few years. CROCKETT asked if ROBESON was present at an encampment of Communist veterans in Washington in May, 1947.

(TR. 14,659) McGOHEY objected. The Court referred to Defendants' Exhibit 5xI and sustained the objection.

ROBESON was referred to Defendants' Exhibit XXXIX for identification, which contains a page entitled "Remarks of PAUL ROBESON". ROBESON said that he recognized that page. CROCKETT asked what that page was.

(TR. 14,660) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked if it was an address delivered by ROBESON to the Communist veterans' encampment in Washington in May, 1947.

(TR. 14,660) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

ROBESON stated that he has known WINSTON very well for many years. CROCKETT asked if he had ever heard WINSTON speak as a representative of the CP, USA.

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(TR. 14,660) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

ROBESON stated that he has known WILLIAMSON for "some years". CROCKETT asked if he had ever heard WILLIAMSON speak as a representative of the CP, USA.

(TR. 14,661) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

ROBESON stated he has known DENNIS for "some years". CROCKETT asked if he had ever visited with DENNIS. ROBESON said "yes".

(TR. 14,661) McGOHEY objected. Sustained and answer stricken.

CROCKETT asked if he had ever shared the platform with DENNIS at any public gathering.

(TR. 14,661) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked if he had ever shared the platform with any of the defendants at any public gathering.

(TR. 14,661) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked "I think you shared the platform with Mrs. ROOSEVELT, have you not?"

(TR. 14,661) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

The Court stated that it was getting the impression that these questions which CROCKETT must know come within the ruling of exclusion were being asked for the purpose of getting a claim as to the facts before the jury in a way that it had noticed done by other lawyers in this case. It had indicated its displeasure at such things and hoped CROCKETT would bear that in mind. The Court said that the series of questions CROCKETT had asked was bound to convey the impression that the facts stated in the questions are true, despite the fact that it had ruled them out and despite the fact that it was obvious from its rulings that if asked and objected to it would sustain the objections and rule them out. The Court did not think that a lawyer should do that.

CROCKETT stated that it was his understanding of the Court's ruling that he must fix the time, the place and the circumstances so that he could get into what was discussed.

The Court said CROCKETT must know that a question as to whether this witness was on the platform with the wife of former President ROOSEVELT has nothing to do with this case. The Court hoped that CROCKETT would feel that it would be better

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for him not to continue with that type of question.

CROCKETT asked if ROBESON had ever heard DENNIS teach or advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

(TR. 14,663) McCOFFEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT asked if ROBESON at any time heard any of the defendants teach or advocate the duty or necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence.

(TR. 14,663) McCOFFEY objected. Sustained.

CROCKETT said that in view of the Court's rulings he was convinced that it would be impossible to bring before the Court the testimony he had hoped to bring through this witness.

The Court stated that it did not think that CROCKETT should have called him. ROBESON started to make a remark but was interrupted by the Court, who stated that it did not want to hear any statement from him. The Court said that CROCKETT could withdraw the witness if he desired. CROCKETT said he had one further question and asked ROBESON if he had any interest in the outcome of this trial. ROBESON said he has a very deep interest. He was interrupted by McCOFFEY'S objection, which was sustained.

(TR. 14,664) CROCKETT had no further questions.

McCOFFEY said that in view of the direct examination he had no questions. The witness was excused.

GLADSTEIN said that a witness was on his way to Court in a taxicab and requested a short recess until he arrived. The recess was granted.

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(Beals - Direct)
(TR. 9/20/49)

RALPH A. BEALS
1158 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

TRANSCRIPT PAGE 14,665
September 20, 1949

BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

RALPH A. BEALS testified that he is Director of the New York Public Library and in this capacity is in charge of the Circulation and Reference Departments of the Library.

TESTIMONY ON DIRECT EXAMINATION BY GLADSTEIN

BEALS stated that he resides at 1158 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, and is the Director of the New York Public Library. GLADSTEIN asked how long he has been Director.

(TR. 14,665) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

The Court remarked to GLADSTEIN "You have asked him to produce some books and he has got them". GLADSTEIN said that was right.

GLADSTEIN asked "Now in your capacity as Director, do you have to do with the Circulation and Reference Departments of the Library?" BEALS replied "yes".

(TR. 14,666) McGOHEY objected. The Court allowed a yes or no answer.

BEALS replied yes.

GLADSTEIN asked what the Circulation Department is.

(TR. 14,666) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

GLADSTEIN asked if it was not true that through the Circulating and Reference Departments of the Library books are made available to the general public.

(TR. 14,666) McGOHEY objected. The Court said that it is obvious that the answer is "yes" so it would let it go at that. The Court said that it did not want its ruling misunderstood. It did not know just what GLADSTEIN was working up to but had a notion.

GLADSTEIN asked how many titles of books are available to the general public through the New York Public Library.

(TR. 14,666) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

GLADSTEIN asked if the Library made available at any time from April, 1945 to July, 1948 various titles of books written by KARL MARX, FRIEDRICH ENGELS, V. I. LENIN or JOSEF STALIN.

(TR. 14,667) McGOHEY objected. The Court said that there was already some evidence to the effect that some or all of these books are in the Public Library. It would allow the question, although somewhat cumulative.

BEALS said the answer is yes. GLADSTEIN asked if the "Communist Manifesto" by MARX and ENGELS was made available to members of the public during that period.

(TR. 14,667) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

BEALS said yes. GLADSTEIN handed BEALS a copy of the "Communist Manifesto" and asked if that was available in the Library and if it was produced from the Library itself. BEALS said yes.

(TR. 14,668) McGOHEY objected. The Court asked to hear the basis of McGOHEY'S objection, saying that there had been proof that many of these books are found in public libraries generally. McGOHEY said that whether these books are in the library is immaterial and irrelevant to the issues. He recalled that DANIEL BOONE SCHIRMER had testified that he first read the "Communist Manifesto" in a public library in Massachusetts, and that that part of his answer was not responsive to the question addressed to him. GREEN had testified at length about books he had read as a young boy and may very well have testified that he read them in the library. If that be so that probably has some relevance on the question of intent and motive and on the question of the circumstances under which the defendant GREEN became a member of the YCL and later a member of the CP. The proof adduced by the Government shows that in carrying out the conspiracy charged in the indictment the defendants conducted schools and distributed literature and that they used books by MARX, ENGELS, LENIN and STALIN as instruments not in the carrying out of the conspiracy, but as instruments in carrying on their teaching program. The fact that these books are available in the public library or in college or private libraries has no relevance or materiality to the issue.

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The Court said that McCOHLEY was probably right but it could not see that any great harm would come from permitting proof that these books are in the Public Library in New York. It probably has little probative force, but in a case in which so much is made of secrecy and secret methods and things of that kind it would allow it for what it is worth and overruled the objection. It would exclude, however, any evidence as to how many times the books went out and how many people got them.

BEALS asked permission to ask a question.

(TR. 14,671) GLADSTEIN said that the usual custom was for him to ask, but he would permit it if the Court would. The Court said that the best thing would be to answer the questions put to him by counsel. BEALS said that he desired to change his previous answer to "No", the point being that he did not bring this book with him, although it is a book from the New York Public Library. It was produced by subpoena. He said he saw this particular book for the first time 10 minutes before. He could readily identify it as a book of the New York Public Library.

(TR. 14,672) BEALS agreed that the volume before him was the "Communist Manifesto" by MARX and ENGELS and that it is a copy of a book made available by the Public Library. GLADSTEIN asked if McCOHLEY would stipulate that the text of the "Communist Manifesto" contained in the volume before the witness is the same as Government Exhibit 40.

(TR. 14,673) McCOHLEY said that he could not stipulate because a comparison showed that they are obviously different translations. The Court examined the books and said there was a considerable difference in the terminology such as one might find made by different translators. Certain phrases may have different meanings, but since McCOHLEY would not stipulate it was not worth laboring the point.

(TR. 14,674) Mr. GLADSTEIN said that his point was to establish the identity between what the Public Library circulates and the documents relied on by the prosecution. He did not think that an insignificant change of words by different translators should be an obstacle, but if McCOHLEY persisted it would place him in a position where he would be required to subpoena various translators and editions circulated by the library, which he did not desire to do.

The Court said that before GLADSTEIN did all that it would probably exclude the whole business as its importance is slight. The Court felt that it would permit in evidence the fact that these books, so often referred to in the trial

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(Beals - Direct)
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are to be found in college, private and public libraries, and did not see why GLADSTEIN did not let it go at that.

(TR. 14,675) GLADSTEIN said very well, that he would accept that.

BEALS identified a book "The State and Revolution" by LENIN as a book taken from the Public Library. GLADSTEIN asked if his answers would be the same as to this book as were his answers concerning the "Communist Manifesto".

(TR. 14,675) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

BEALS said "Yes, sir".

The Court asked if that was to say that it was available to the public in the New York Public Library from April, 1945 to July, 1949. BEALS said he was confident that it had been and for the full period, to the best of his knowledge and belief. He said it has been there since 1928.

(TR. 14,676) BEALS also identified "Foundations of Leninism" by JOSEF STALIN, a 1932 publication, as coming from the Public Library. GLADSTEIN asked if his answers concerning this book would be substantially the same as his answers concerning the "Communist Manifesto". BEALS agreed.

(TR. 14,676) McGOHEY objected.

BEALS identified a copy of "History of the CPSU (Bolsheviks)", published in 1939 as a book from the shelves of the New York Public Library. He agreed that his answers as to this book would be the same as his answers concerning the other books.

(TR. 14,676) McGOHEY objected.

(TR. 14,677) The Court deferred its ruling on the objection until McGOHEY examined the book. McGOHEY stated that the book "State and Revolution" appeared to be a different translation from Exhibit 32 in evidence.

(TR. 14,678) The Court said that there were differences. However, the "History of the CPSU (Bolsheviks)" seems to be from the same plates. McGOHEY said that he was satisfied that this latter book is identical, and he was willing to stipulate as to that. The Court overruled McGOHEY'S previous objection. BEALS said that his answers as to the "History of the CPSU" would be the same as his answers concerning the other books.

(TR. 14,679) GLADSTEIN concluded his questions of the witness.

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(Beals - Cross)
(Tr. 9/20/49)

TESTIMONY ON CROSS-EXAMINATION BY McGOHEY

(Tr. 14,680) McGOHEY referred BEALS to Exhibit 9xL, a book entitled "Outline, Fundamentals of Marxism for Class Use or Self-Study", issued by the National Educational Commission, CP, USA. He asked if this book is available to the public on the shelves of the Public Library.

(Tr. 14,680) GLADSTEIN objected as immaterial and not proper cross-examination. Overruled. GLADSTEIN said there was no foundation laid to ask that question. The Court asked if he meant that BEALS may not know.

(Tr. 14,681) GLADSTEIN said he was pressing all of the objections and the Court said he was overruling all of them.

BEALS said he could not answer from his own knowledge. McGOHEY asked if he ever saw it in the Public Library.

(Tr. 14,681) GLADSTEIN objected. Overruled.

BEALS said he could not remember having seen it. McGOHEY referred BEALS to Government Exhibit 51 in evidence, entitled "Outline on Marxist-Leninist Fundamentals for Class Use and Self-Study", issued by the State Education Commission, Illinois District, CP, USA. McGOHEY asked if that book is available to the public in the New York Public Library.

(Tr. 14,681) GROCENET objected. Overruled.

BEALS stated that there are four and a half million books in the New York Public Library and he could not from his own knowledge give an offhand answer to the question. He would be glad to ascertain the answer but he had never seen it before. He agreed that he did not know whether it is there or not. McGOHEY asked if it is not a fact that the New York Public Library contains books dealing with firearms and their use. BEALS agreed.

(Tr. 14,682) GLADSTEIN objected. Overruled.

McGOHEY asked if there were not books in the New York Public Library on polygamy. BEALS assumed so. McGOHEY asked if it is not a fact that there are books in the New York Public Library dealing with murder. BEALS said that was a difficult question to answer. The Court asked if he meant that the definition of murder is not clear in his mind. BEALS said yes, that there are a number of detective stories which deal with murder. If McGOHEY meant that aside from treatises on murder, he could answer by saying that if there is a serious book on the subject of murder they would have made an attempt to acquire a copy of it. McGOHEY asked if there is any such book. BEALS replied that he had never received one and could not answer the question. McGOHEY had no further questions.

TESTIMONY ON REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY GLADSTEIN

BEALS agreed that there are books dealing with the subject of law in the Library.

(TR. 14,683) GLADSTEIN asked if there were books dealing with such matters as court and jury trials. BEALS replied that the New York Public Library is a very curious institution, about which it is seldom possible to answer a question yes or no. He said they have about 100,000 books and there are undoubtedly books dealing with court trials, although it is not a feature in their collection.

GLADSTEIN asked if in the field of books written by MARX, ENGELS, LENIN and STALIN it is not true that the four titles referred to are not the only ones of which he has copies.

(TR. 14,683) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

GLADSTEIN asked if it was not a fact that he has 60 or 70 different works authored by MARX, ENGELS, LENIN and STALIN that are made available to the general public.

(TR. 14,683) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

BEALS replied that as to the intent of the question his answer was yes, but whether it is 60 he could not say.

(TR. 14,683) GLADSTEIN and McGOHEY had no further questions.

(TR. 14,684) McCABE called HENRY WINSTON to the stand. He told the Court that because of a recurrence of an old injury to his neck and shoulder he had been unable to carry out the preparation for his client WINSTON during his incarceration and for that reason he had asked SACHET to conduct the examination of WINSTON. The Court remarked that during his absence a request had been made that SACHET be made associate counsel. McCABE said he made that request because he realized then that he would not be able to carry on. The Court said that it would permit McCABE to conduct part of the examination if he desired to do so.

CAR:RMJ
NY 100-81752

(Winston - Direct)
(TR. 9/20/49)

HENRY WINSTON
1809 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

TRANSCRIPT PAGE 14,685
September 20, 1949

BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

HENRY WINSTON testified that he resides at 1809 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, and that his wife's name is EDNA. He said they were married on May 2, 1940 and have a boy 2 1/2 years old named LARRY. WINSTON stated he was born April 2, 1911 at Hattiesburg, Mississippi. He left Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri in his sophomore year. He held numerous odd jobs as dish washer, painter, busboy, waiter, porter and window washer. He joined the YCL in about 1929 and joined the G late in 1931. He became Section Organizer of the YCL in Brooklyn in 1933. He went to Soviet Russia in December, 1933 and returned to the United States in May, 1935. In June, 1935 he was elected Organizational Secretary of the Ohio YCL.

TESTIMONY ON DIRECT EXAMINATION BY SACHER

WINSTON stated that his mother's name is LUCILLE and his father's name is JOSEPH WINSTON. SACHER asked where his parents were born.

(TR. 14,686) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON stated his father was born in Louisiana and his mother was born in the State of Mississippi. SACHER asked if he knew any of his grandparents.

(TR. 14,686) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON said he only knew his grandfather, who was born in this country. SACHER asked if he was born into slavery.

(TR. 14,686) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON said that he was. WINSTON said that his father worked in a sawmill while they resided in Hattiesburg. WINSTON said that he attended several schools in Hattiesburg and that they were what is known as segregated schools.

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(Winston - Direct)
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(TR. 14,687) WINSTON said that the family left Hattiesburg in the Summer of 1926 and moved to Kansas City, Missouri. He said that at Kansas City his father was a steel worker until the depression and then he worked at various jobs, mowing lawns, cutting hedges, and finally became a cook. WINSTON said that he attended several schools in Kansas City and that these too were segregated schools. He said that he entered the Lincoln High School in Kansas City and that that was a segregated school. He entered this high school in 1928 and remained until the second semester of his sophomore year, when he left without graduating. He said he had various jobs while he was attending school. On Saturdays and Sundays he worked as a waiter, busboy, porter and dish washer and in the Winter he shoveled snow. Immediately prior to the time he left Lincoln High School he was a dish washer.

(TR. 14,688) At this point luncheon recess was taken.

EXHIBIT
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(Winston - Direct)
(TR. 9/20/49)

(TR. 14,689) SACHS recalled for WINSTON that he had previously testified that immediately prior to the date on which WINSTON left high school, he had held a job as dishwasher. SACHS then asked WINSTON what employment, if any, his father had at that time.

(TR. 14,690) McGOHEY objected subsequent to WINSTON'S statement that his father had no regular employment. The Court overruled the objection and was assured by SACHS that he was not following through on that line of questioning.

SACHS then asked WINSTON whether he had worked daytime or night time on the job he had had immediately prior to leaving high school. WINSTON answered that he had worked at night and was asked by SACHS what were the work periods of his work.

(TR. 14,690) McGOHEY objected and WINSTON answered 7:00 P.M. prior to the Court's overruling of the objection, after which WINSTON continued by stating his work periods were from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.

SACHS asked WINSTON what hours of the day he attended school. WINSTON replied that he attended school from 8:00 in the morning until 7:00 in the afternoon and was then asked for how long a period he had continued to work twelve hours at night and to attend school in the daytime.

(TR. 14,690) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

SACHS then asked WINSTON whether he finally left high school in order to remain on the job.

(TR. 14,691) McGOHEY objected to the form of questioning. The Court overruled.

WINSTON answered in the affirmative and was then asked how long he had continued in the employment which he was engaged in at the time he had left high school.

(TR. 14,691) McGOHEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON answered he didn't recall the exact time but thought it had been until the summer of 1930. In response to questions concerning his later employments, he stated that he had secured a position as a trainer for a long-distance runner in connection with the runner's preparation for a 500 mile relay race from Montreal to Quebec and back. After completing that work he said that he had become secretary to an employment agency until it closed down, which he estimated had been sometime in the fall of 1930. WINSTON said he was then unemployed for a period during which he searched for jobs as painter and brick mason. He said he

was unsuccessful in getting that type of employment and could not get a job as construction worker because of the widespread unemployment at this time. However, he said that he had received a number of odd jobs such as mowing lawns, cutting hedges, shoveling snow and together with his father succeeded in getting a few odd jobs of various types. During this period of his search for work, he said that he rang doorbells in the wealthier neighborhoods in an effort to get employment as a window washer or porter. During this time WINSTON said regular employment was scarce because it was during the period following the crash of 1929. He said he frequented gatherings of unemployed, usually gathered to discuss problems of jobs, relief and what could be done about it.

(Tr. 14,693) SACHER asked WINSTON whether it was at about that time that he had joined the Young Communist League. WINSTON answered in the affirmative stating that his joining the League followed a gathering where a speech had been made by Mr. BARRY at Paseo Park. BARRY had spoken on the problems of unemployment and the connection of growing lynch violence at that time. WINSTON said BARRY offered a program which interested him which called for the unity of negro and white to meet the common problem of that day. The growing violence against the negro people was intimately connected with the joblessness that existed at that time and because of interest in what BARRY said WINSTON stated that he joined the youth organization. SACHER asked WINSTON whether the BARRY he had just referred to was the same BARRY who had earlier testified as a witness for the defense. WINSTON answered in the affirmative and was then asked whether there had come a time later in the year 1931 when he joined the Communist Party of the United States. WINSTON answered that he had done so late in 1931. SACHER asked him whether his experiences at that time or prior to the time he joined the Young Communist League and the Communist Party have anything to do with his decision to join both of those organizations.

(Tr. 14,694) McOWNEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON answered that the major thing that brought him to the Communist Party at that time was an incident in Marysville, Missouri. The Court interrupted WINSTON to point out that nobody asked him about the latter incident and he felt that the question had been designed to bring out the fact that because of experiences referred to in part by WINSTON he had joined the Young Communist League of the Communist Party. The witness answered that in part the latter was true. SACHER asked the witness whether he had had any other experience prior to joining the Young Communist League and Communist Party which had caused him to join those organizations.

(Tr. 14,695) McOWNEY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON gave an affirmative answer to the previous question, stating that the experience had been where RAYMOND GUNN had been tied by a rope and burned on top of a school building, together with the school building, in Marysville, Missouri,

while the National Guard was present with full Officer Complement and had refused to act against the lynch mob on the grounds that they had orders not to act unless a request was made by the Sheriff. The Sheriff did nothing to prevent the lynching and so the school building and the human body were burned to the ground and WINSTON said he had the problem of overcoming the shattered and abandoned hopes of his mother who, understanding that HARRY McGUIRE was likewise wrong, loved, felt that in the search for employment it would be necessary for he, WINSTON, to go into hostile communities knowing that tensions were being formed by various elements in the community. WINSTON said he helped to quiet the fears of his mother and family by trying to take some form of positive action to prove that negroes and whites in the city of Kansas City, Missouri, could unite on the basis of an intelligent program of democratic action through humanitarian people who were interested in decency and justice.

(TR. 14,696) SACHSE asked WINSTON where he had joined the Young Communist League. WINSTON answered that he had joined the League in January, 1931, at Kansas City and had joined the Communist Party during the late summer of the same year. WINSTON said that he had continued to reside in Kansas City after joining the Young Communist League until about the end of November or beginning of December of 1932 and during his residence in Kansas City he said he had engaged in the activities of the Young Communist League. SACHSE then asked WINSTON to describe briefly what activities he engaged in in the Young Communist League in Kansas City during the period of his residence there.

(TR. 14,696) McGUIRE objected. The Court sustained stating it would permit a description of any official positions held by the witness but did not want a general statement of what he did in the Young Communist League because it felt that would come within the line of rulings made by the Court a month or two earlier.

WINSTON was asked by SACHSE whether he had joined the Young Communist League with the intent to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. WINSTON answered in the negative and was then asked to state where he had gone after leaving Kansas City. The witness answered that he had been a delegate on the national hunger march to Washington in that year which was in December, 1932. He said he stayed in Washington possibly a week after which he had gone to New York. SACHSE asked the witness what had been the first thing he had done when he had come to New York.

(TR. 14,700) McGUIRE objected. The Court overruled the objection after being assured by SACHSE that it would be answered by one sentence.

The witness said that upon arriving in New York he had visited the offices of the Young Communist League. SACHSE then asked him whether he had entered the school of the Communist League after that visit and WINSTON answered in the affirmative stating that he had studied subjects in political economy, history of the labor movement —

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(Winston - Direct)
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(TR. 14,701) McCHERY interrupts to request that the Court be told when, where, who was there and so on in connection with any testimony concerning schools. SACHER said he intended to pass through the subject of the school very quickly and proceed to another subject and didn't want to delay the proceedings. McCHERY said that the latter was the point he was trying to make and if subjects were to be brought in he wanted to know something about who taught them and all the other things necessary to lay a proper foundation and was objecting to further description of the school until those conditions were met. The Court sustained the objection and McCHERY asked that WINSTON'S statement that he had studied political economy and history of the labor movement be stricken. The Court said it was letting that portion remain but was not permitting details concerning the teaching in the school without the usual requirements of proof of when, where and who did the teaching.

SACHER asked WINSTON whether he had obtained employment in New York City after completing the courses he had taken at the school and the Young Communist League.

WINSTON answered in the affirmative stating he had worked in the Circulation Department of the "Young Worker", as well as doing a little writing and helping to build a route for the "Daily Worker". The "Young Worker", he said, was the official organ of the Young Communist League. SACHER asked him whether he had about this time become a member of any organization whose membership consisted of the unemployed.

(TR. 14,703) Objection. Overruled.

WINSTON answered that he had become a member of the Unemployed Council which he had originally joined in 1931 while in Kansas City. SACHER asked the witness whether he could relate the activities engaged in by him as a member of the Unemployed Council of New York City.

(TR. 14,703) McCHERY objected. Overruled. With the Court's permission, McCHERY pointed out that the question was what activities had the witness been engaged in as a member of the Unemployed Council. The Court said that it was trying to be as liberal as it reasonably could with the witnesses who were testifying and that when it noted a disposition to go into responsive answers and long speeches, it felt compelled to do some restricting. The Court noted that the present witness had not as yet shown any disposition of doing this and since the matter in hand was a matter for the Court's discretion and one of the things that the judges are supposed to be particularly qualified to handle, it was going to go along in the present instance as long as possible and on that theory was allowing the question. McCHERY said his point was that the present testimony was now back in 1933 and his objection was not on the broadness of the question but because he did not believe it was relevant. The Court replied that the preliminary material had a bearing on the case because of the intent that is involved and for that reason where

the question seemed such as to elicit brief answers that are to the point, the Court was disposed to permit them as it was doing in the present instance.

(Tr. 14,706) WINSTON stated that activities engaged in by him as a member of the Unemployed Council in New York were chiefly connected with his efforts to organize in Harlem some united front conferences made up of the Workers Unemployed League, Unemployed Councils, Souffle Movement, the Young Communist League, the Young People's Socialist League, the various civic and fraternal organizations of Harlem. WINSTON said the object was to have these groups enlist in a campaign to open up the Harlem YWCA on 135th Street for the purpose of housing single and unemployed young workers as an aid to the prevention of crime in Harlem at that time and at the same time as a means of providing sustenance and a place to live for needy youth. Secondly, WINSTON said they undertook through various means to organize action consisting of applications and petitions to various relief organizations. They also petitioned the City Administration of New York City to make provisions for relief for unemployed youth who were unemployed through no reasons of their own and try to insure that there would be no discrimination towards youth because of their unemployment in the granting of relief to young people. WINSTON said that they also, during this period, tried to develop forums of various kinds in order to create public interest among youth and the people at large in a program designed to tackle the unemployment problem of that period. He said this was a basis of the fight for a constructive program which would take into consideration not only the problems of youth but the problems of old age, problem of needy, problem of evictions and the problem of winning unemployment insurance for the people at large. SACHS asked WINSTON whether there had come a time when he, WINSTON, had been elected to an official position in the Unemployed Council.

(Tr. 14,707) McGOWAN objected. Overruled.

WINSTON answered that he had been elected Chairman of the Youth Section of the Unemployed Council of Harlem on February 19, 1933. He said during this same period that he was identified with the Unemployed Council, he also continued his employment with the "Young Worker" and the "Daily Worker" and remained as Chairman of the Youth Section of the Unemployed Council in Harlem until April of 1933. SACHS asked WINSTON whether he was thereafter elected as Chairman of the Youth Section of the Unemployed Council of New York City. WINSTON said that he had been so elected about a month after being elected Chairman of the Youth Council in Harlem. He said that, therefore, he simultaneously occupied the position of Chairman of the city-wide organization of the Youth Section of the Unemployed Council of Harlem and as Chairman of the Youth Section of the Unemployed Council of New York City. He said he continued as Chairman of the Harlem Youth Council until April and continued in his position as Chairman of the Youth Council of New York City as a whole until November of the same year. WINSTON said that when he gave up his position in Harlem in April, 1933, he accepted the position of Section Organizer of the Young Communist League in Brooklyn. He said he had been elected to the latter position by an enlarged meeting of the Brooklyn Section Committee of the Young Communist League and thereafter he said he remained Section Organizer of this group in Brooklyn until November.

(TR. 14,710) SACKER asked WINSTON to state briefly and in a similar general way as he had in connection with the Unemployed Council the nature of the activity he engaged in in his capacity as Section Organizer of the Young Communist League in Brooklyn. WINSTON replied that his activities in that area in the main were concerned with the fullest participation of members of the Young Communist League in the union, on the campus and in the communities to render their support for a program for federal appropriations for schools to provide technical training and skills for young workers. At that time the witness said they were particularly interested in opening up the doors of opportunity for youth in shipbuilding and attempted also to get support for a program to raise the age of youth leaving school for purposes of making it possible for them to learn trades and at the same time not to clutter up the unemployed ranks but to learn to study as an aid to alleviating the burden of unemployment. The witness said that they also wanted to enlist support for lowering the working day to six hours instead of the then twelve hour working day which would make possible the absorption of young workers into industry with the adults.

(TR. 14,711) Continuing, WINSTON said that they wanted to enlist support for the unemployed youth who were unemployed through no fault of their own. They wanted no discrimination toward the granting of relief because youth are youth. WINSTON said he helped through the medium of the Young Communist League a group of young women at the Aerobox Plant in Brooklyn who had organized a spontaneous strike but had no experience in the conducting of strikes and sought the witness' aid in formulating demands which included 25¢ hourly increase, better plant ventilation, improved sanitary facilities and other points. WINSTON said that he assisted this group in setting up the necessary machinery for their strike, including negotiations committee, picket captains and so on. The witness said he helped to enlist the support of the Young Communist League organization as a whole for the strikers in order that they could get coffee and sandwiches while they were on strike. WINSTON said the strike only lasted a few days and the strikers only gained 12¢ but did secure improved sanitary conditions and other issues that they asked for and thereafter the witness said he was successful in getting a large group of them to join what was known as the Metal Union.

(TR. 14,713) Continuing, WINSTON related that in the Red Hook area they had helped to organize forums and meetings and also sold their paper, the "Young Worker" in an effort to secure for the community improved recreational facilities which could be used jointly by Italian and Porto Rican youth, which it was hoped would offset the campaign which existed at that time and which was causing friction between Porto Rican and Italian young people. Other duties as Section Organizer, WINSTON said, consisted of his formulating the agendas for the meetings and checking up on the fulfillment of decisions made by the Section Committee of the Young Communist League in the carrying through of its program.

(TR. 14,714) The witness said that he ceased to be the Section Organizer in November, 1933, and in answer to questions from SACKER regarding what he did in November, 1933, WINSTON stated he had gone abroad to study and work. His purpose had been to study the problems of socialist construction in general, as well as the national problem and the other problems of the youth movement. To

further this study he said he went to the Soviet Union having left the United States in November, 1933, and thought that he arrived in the Soviet Union at the end of November or the beginning of December, 1933. He said he stayed in the Soviet Union until May, 1935. During his period of stay there, he said he traveled quite extensively visiting a number of major regions of the national republics. He said he made a study of socialist industries which required visiting a number of plants. In addition he studied trade union problems of the industries and also attended classes which included political economy and Soviet economy.

(TR. 14,715) McGOFFY interrupts to state that he felt the Court should know the circumstances surrounding the study as well as the exact place and time. The Court asked SACHLER whether he could get the particulars as requested. SACHLER replied that he felt that if McGOFFY wished to develop the circumstances on cross examination he should do it then and did not feel that the present examination should be interrupted for that purpose. The Court then observed that this was one of the things where counsel for the defense and the Court disagreed so frequently that the Court was afraid it had not been sufficiently articulate, otherwise the counsel would have accommodated themselves to the Court's rulings without argument. SACHLER replied that he would conform to the Court's rulings, but he wished to direct WINSTON'S attention to other matters and would ask him to simply refrain from further elaborating on the subject if such was agreeable to the Court. McGOFFY then asked whether SACHLER was asking to have stricken from the record the testimony of the witness that he did go to classes and studied one or two subjects and when McGOFFY was advised that this was not the case, he then moved to have the witness' testimony concerning this stricken because no foundation had been laid for it. The Court ruled that the matter was not of sufficient importance for it to strike it out and, therefore, the Court was permitting it to remain.

(TR. 14,717) SACHLER asked WINSTON whether he had done anything else in the Soviet Union except attend the classes that he had just referred to in his earlier testimony. WINSTON replied that he had visited a number of republics formerly oppressed by the Czar and had studied the social conditions and problems of the trade unions in relationship to socialized industries. WINSTON said that he returned to the United States after leaving the Soviet Union in May, 1935. At this time he said he became an official of the Ohio Young Communist League, at which time he was residing in Cleveland, Ohio. He said his position in the Young Communist League in Ohio was known as that of Organizational Secretary and he had been elected to that position by the District Committee of the Ohio Young Communist League in June of 1935. He said that his first task in this position consisted of getting acquainted with the organization and its problems since it was a new field for him. He said he helped to organize conferences of various organizations consisting of the Y-C-L, the Future Outlook League, the Young Communist League, the Young Socialist League and various other organizations in Cleveland, for the purpose of trying to initiate in Ohio the policy of uniting the young generation in the fight to defeat fascism and war. In addition to this he said they helped to organize various camp fires as

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(Winston - Direct)
(T. 9/20/49)

a form of cultural expression and fraternity among various youth groups for the exchange of experiences on a number of problems affecting the youth. He said they also organized public forums and debates in Ohio and said that he, himself, had done much to bring about the organic merger of the Young Communist League and the Young People's Socialist League at that time.

(T. 14,722) WINSTON said he helped to organize conferences among the membership of the Young Communist League in industry for the purpose of exchanging experience of the young workers from one industry to another on how to organize a mass of unorganized youth in the various industries of Ohio, namely, steel, rubber, auto, electrical and several others. In addition to this, he said his task consisted of organizing the agendas for the District Committees, checking up on the fulfillment of decisions by and through the organization, as well as organizing the various leadership conferences of members of the Young Communist League and the other problems that were connected with the organization.

(T. 14,723) In response to the Court's question concerning the nature of the leadership conferences, WINSTON stated that they consisted of conferences devoted to training branch presidents, as well as members, for executives of clubs. These leadership conferences, he said, also help the young people to exchange experiences in such a form that they could learn the technique of various organizational forums in the conduct of the various types of activities in defense of the working youth. The Court asked WINSTON the nature of the activities in defense of the working youth. WINSTON answered that the problems the young worker was faced with was first of all the problem of the speed-up and he said that to the best of his ability he, WINSTON, tried to aid the young workers in learning how to raise the questions concerning speed-up and other industrial abuses.

(T. 14,723) SACHS asked the witness whether the Young Communist League in Ohio had a District Board in 1935. WINSTON answered in the affirmative and said that in his capacity as Organizational Secretary of the Young Communist League, he was a member of that Board. SACHS then asked WINSTON whether there had been a meeting of the District Board sometime in September, 1935, at which the witness was present and where the discussion concerning the holding of classes by the Young Communist League of Ohio was held. WINSTON answered that there was such a meeting and it was held in the District office of the Young Communist League. He stated that HILL, GATES, WILLIAMSON, FITZMYER, as well as himself, were at the meeting. He pointed out that HILL, GATES and WILLIAMSON were identical with the defendants of the present proceeding while FITZMYER was the Educational Director of the Ohio Young Communist League. SACHS then asked WINSTON to state the nature of the discussion that took place among the aforementioned gentlemen in September, 1935, concerning the holding of classes.

(T. 14,725) McGOHEY objected. Sustained.

SACHS then asked whether there was any decision made at the meeting of the District Board in regard to the holding of classes by the Young Communist League.

(Tr. 14,726) MCCOY objected. The Court notes that 1935 is the period being discussed and wished to hear from SACHS how it was relevant in the case. SACHS said he wished to lead up to a class taught by WINSTON in the school on a subject which he felt was relevant to the issues of the case. MCCOY observed that he did not feel it would be either material or relevant. The Court stated it would permit him to answer the question and thereafter asked WINSTON to tell the Court what the resolution was that was passed to the best of his recollection.

WINSTON answered that the resolutions were that classes, forums and schools be organized for the purpose of acquainting not only the membership of the Young Communist League and its leadership with the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, but also for the purpose of reaching a wider audience with these people. The Court asked the witness whether he had attended the Seventh World Congress in Russia in 1935. WINSTON answered that he had not attended the Congress. SACHS then asked the witness whether he had ever read DIMITOFF'S speech.

(Tr. 14,727) MCCOY objected. The Court observed that it hardly seemed conceivable that anybody could be connected with the present trial so long without reading DIMITOFF'S speech and did not see what difference it would make. The Court said it appeared to it that counsel was leading up to showing that the change of policy that FOSTER testified concerning was initiated and developed from the Seventh World Congress and was connected with the meeting in Ohio, but the Court pointed out that this was now denied. SACHS then denied this claiming all the witness said was that he didn't attend the Congress. SACHS added that among the things that they wished to show was that WINSTON taught at that time precisely what had just been referred to by the Court. The Court stated, "All right. I will permit it".

(Tr. 14,728) SACHS asked WINSTON whether he had taught a class of the Young Communist League in Ohio. WINSTON answered in the affirmative, stating that he had taught such a class around Thanksgiving in 1935 and recalled that the class was held at the Scoville Section Headquarters of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio. He said he was teaching the class as a member of the Young Communist League and it was a Young Communist League class. WINSTON said he could not recall all of the people who were there, but did remember that they were people selected by the club or the party of the Young Communist League in Ohio. WINSTON was asked what subject he taught.

(Tr. 14,729) MCCOY objected. Overruled.

WINSTON answered that the historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress and its special meeting to the youth in terms of forging a united front of the young generation to fight against fascism was the subject taught by him. SACHS then asked WINSTON to state as briefly as he could the circumstances of what he had taught the class on the subject. WINSTON stated that he had pointed out to the class that our country was faced with an immediate and present danger, the danger of fascism. He said that he had related that this danger was increased by the Hitler and the Japanese aggression in the Far East under the slogan of developing a co-prosperity sphere,

and by the aggressiveness of German fascism under the slogan of living space, and by MUSSOLINI'S attack upon Ethiopia. He also said the aggressiveness of the fascist powers was endangering not only the peace and security and liberties of their respective peoples, but was endangering the peace and security of the entire world. WINSTON said he had stated that there was a need for the widest possible campaign for the clarification of the issues involved, as well as the need to explain the class connection and fascism, its meaning and its significance. He said they did not get clarity from the press and the ROCKEFELLERS, DUPONTS, MORGAN interests, which were all tied up by a thousand threads to I. G. FALK and the monopolists' cartel combine were all primarily interested in profits which they placed before and above democracy and the interest of their respective countries. WINSTON said that he also stated that there were many misconceptions abroad that had to be answered and it was the responsibility of the Young Communist League to contribute to the thinking of the youth to help bring about the needed clarity of the issues involved.

(TR. 14,731) Among other things stated by him, he said, were that some of the things requiring clarification were that HITLER in Germany demagogically sold fascism to wide masses of the middle class, small business men, professionals, intellectuals, as being a middle-class revolution against the industrial magnates of Germany. He said he had told the class that a section of the middle class in Germany fell for the demagogy of Hitler, and had already begun to find that they made a fatal error by falling for the illusion consciously spread by Hitler fascism. HITLER made appeals to the farmer that national socialism and his program represented a revolution on the part of the farmers against big industrial international magnates of the cities and wide masses of the farmers in Germany too late found that they had made a fatal error because the situation was that the hand of the junkers of the countryside was strengthened with an increased pauperization of the peasant.

(TR. 14,732) WINSTON said that he had stated that German fascism used one section of the population against the other and that it took advantage of the desires of wide masses of Germans for socialism and called its fascism national socialism, even though there wasn't a grain of socialism in it. WINSTON said that he had told the class that the directing hand of the whole movement in Germany was I. G. FALK, KROPP, THYSS and other big financial interests of Germany, who remained behind the scenes and pulled the wires and, therefore, were able to stamp out every vestige of liberty in Germany, including the trade unions.

(TR. 14,733) WINSTON said that he had also told the class that Americans had to learn from the experience of Germany that Americans must face the responsibility to repel the developing fascism in this country which at that time was expressing itself in the form of the Coughlin movement, the Silver Shirts, the Liberty League, the FKK, and in the vicious attacks upon foreign-born and on militant trade union workers. WINSTON said that he also made statements to the effect that because of these forces, which were accepting the fascist program in this country, they were constituting an increasing greater menace to American democracy.

Continuing, WINSTON said that other statements by him to the class were to the effect that the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

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(Winston - Direct)
(Re 9/20/49)

were decisions which outlined a program not limited to any particular country, but a program which expressed the innermost feelings of all people in all countries in their desire to maintain democratic liberties as a pre-condition for the extension of democratic liberties. Fascism would make the fight for democratic liberties very difficult if not impossible and would set it back for generations to come. WINSTON said that he had also pointed out that the Seventh World Congress took into account the situation then existing in the world and formulated on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science a new political orientation, which program met the innermost feelings and desires and aspirations of the masses of young generation of American people.

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NY 100-81752

(Winston-direct)
(TA 9/20/49)

(TR 14,734) Continuing, WINSTON stated that in his remarks to the class he had told them that they must study the decisions referred to heretofore to see to what extent the young generation of the country and particularly the youth of Ohio could make contributions of a nature which would help to check the advance of Fascism in the country as a whole and in Ohio in particular. WINSTON further stated that he had said that Fascism did not come to the people with clean hands but came to the people speaking in names of Americanism, concealing its real program from the people and in its programs pitted Catholics against Protestants, Jews against Gentiles, Negroes against whites, workers against the middle classes. WINSTON recalled that he had told the class that Fascism could achieve its objectives in this country only on the basis of created divisions among the people, misdirecting their aspirations and their strivings for democracy and, therefore, the most difficult task to be mastered by young Communists was to answer and expose the demagoguery of Fascism. WINSTON said he told them that the success of the democratic struggle depended upon the efforts of the American people to meet that danger and one of the prime responsibilities of the Young Communist League was to assist in the formation of committees for the purpose of helping to speed up the drive to organize the unorganized industries in the country and in doing this the Young Communist League would have to expose the inspired monopoly propaganda which said that attempts to organize the basic industries was a Communist effort to divert American workers from the real interest of their country.

(TR 14,736) WINSTON said that he also had stated that the job would be difficult but Communists did not shrink from difficult tasks and that if they persevered in the presenting of their program to the workers they would find that the workers would respond in terms of tens of thousands in joining up in the unions of their respective interests. WINSTON said that he also pointed out that there would have to be a conscious effort made to unite this effort at organization of the basic workers in industry with the farmer population of the country and here he cautioned that intense effort would be made on the part of reactionary elements to mobilize the farming population against the City worker and it would be necessary to show the identity of the interest of the farmers with that of the workers. WINSTON also recalled stating that the middle class was being intimidated, frightened, terrorized, and the Communists would have to overcome definite prejudices existing among the middle classes in order to have them recognize their common identity of interest with the workers of industry in the fight against Fascism. Another point WINSTON said that he made at that time was that one could not speak of an effective fight against Fascism unless there existed a solid unity of white and Negro workers in the basic industries which would result in a uniting on a common program of action for democracy.

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(Winston-direct)
(TR 6/20/41)

(TR 14,757) WINSTON said that he further pointed out that the Seventh World Congress stated in terms that couldn't be understood that they were defenders of bourgeois democratic liberties and were defenders of democracy. WINSTON said that he also pointed out that it was true that the rights of the Negro people were limited under bourgeois democratic liberties and had also stated that under Fascism not only would those limited rights cease to exist but the possibility of the utter extinction of the Negro people presented itself if there was a Fascist victory. Therefore, WINSTON said that he had stated it was necessary to fight with everything they had, not only to preserve the democratic liberties as they now were, but also to fight for their extension and to incorporate fully the Negro people into that which they justly deserved as democratic rights, namely, the democratic rights of Americans.

(TR 14,758) In order to do this WINSTON said that he had told them there was need to answer the problem of how to build the united front of labor and the people so as to be united on a common program of defensive democracy against Fascism, for peace and against war. One of the best stimulus for this he said was to be the drive to organize the unorganized, and to fight consciously for the effecting or perfecting of a united front. WINSTON said that among the youth he had told them this especially meant the building of the front of the young generation and their aim should be to unite religious groups as well as the YACA and all organizations dedicated to democracy on the basis of a common program of united effort to meet the challenge of fascism. WINSTON recalled pointing out to the group that the Young Communist League had a special contribution to make in this connection and could not make any conditions for this united front except that all participating parties in the united front should be willing to develop a program of united action against fascism.

(TR 14,759) Lastly, WINSTON recalled giving the class the essence of a report which he had heard WILLIAMSON deliver at one of the District Committee meetings and which WILLIAMSON had emphasized that for Ohio there was a great need to build a political mechanism through which the democratic anti-Fascist masses could express themselves politically and one of the needs of the people of Ohio was for the building of a farmer-labor party which would advance a program to curb and check monopolies as well as advancing a program for the enlargement and projection of projects for the unemployed. Other points by WILLIAMSON which WINSTON recalled giving to the class were that the moods of struggle were developing among the workers in every basic industry with the desire for organization being expressed which meant that the Communists, especially the members of the Young Communist League, could render much assistance in bringing about the organization of workers in the mass production industries, and could provide on the basis of their knowledge, experiences and techniques organizational aid in processing grievances and related matters.

(TR 14,740) WINTON said that the foregoing, in the main, was the essence of the problem that he had emphasized, namely, that the Seventh World Congress by emphasizing and developing in a Marxist way its program with its new political orientation also laid a new path, a new road for the development of Socialism in this country because Socialism was the outgrowth of democracy and democracy brought to completion and not the denial of democracy.

SACHER called the Court's attention to the fact that WINTON, in referring to the deliberations of the Seventh World Congress, spoke of them as expressed "in terms that could not be understood" when he probably meant "in terms that could not be misunderstood." The witness agreed with SACHER'S correction of his testimony and the Court agreed to this correction on the record.

(TR 14,741) SACHER then asked WINTON whether he had been elected to the office of the National Organization Secretary of the Young Communist League. WINTON answered that he had been elected to that office in March of 1936 by the National Conference of the Young Communist League. He said his term in that position ran through to the National Convention of the following year, 1937, which he believed was held in May. SACHER asked WINTON to state briefly, in general terms, in what activities WINTON had engaged as National Organization Secretary of the Young Communist League. WINTON said that his first task was to become acquainted with the national structure of the organization and in connection with this he was required to travel extensively to study the problems of the various sub-divisions of the organization. WINTON said his chief responsibility consisted of making a study of the problems, structure, democracy within the organization with the aim in view of later formulating a program for the organization as a whole. In connection with this he said he spoke at various functions representing the organization, conducted classes, gave lectures and did considerable writing for the organization. WINTON was then asked by SACHER whether he had testified that during that period of time he had also made preparation in connection with the holding of the 1937 convention of the Young Communist League. WINTON answered in the affirmative stating that the Declaration of Principles was one of the most important undertakings of that Convention. The Court stated that it did not quite understand how WINTON joined the Communist Party in 1931 and went from one office to another in the Young Communist League. The witness answered that he had been a member of both the Young Communist League and the Communist Party which were two separate and distinct organizations at the same time. SACHER asked WINTON whether there were any duties or activities that he had engaged in in connection with the preparation for the 1937 Convention of the Young Communist League which he had not stated.

(TR 14,744) MC GOWEY objects. Sustained. SACHER states to the Court that he is seeking to lay a foundation for refreshing his recollection.

Exhibit
NY 100-81781

(Ainsworth-direct)
(TR 8/20/41)

SACHSE then asked WINSTON whether he formulated and issued a call in connection with the 1937 Convention. WINSTON answered in the affirmative.

(TR 14,744) MC GOWEN objects. Sustained.

SACHSE asked WINSTON when the Convention was held.

(TR 14,744) MC GOWEN objects. The Court stated, "Well, he just said it was in May, 1937."

SACHSE then asked WINSTON whether he recalled the exact date of that Convention.

(TR 14,745) MC GOWEN objects. The Court points out that he had just said May 2nd.

SACHSE then asked WINSTON in what capacity he attended the Convention.

(TR 14,745) MC GOWEN objects. Overruled.

WINSTON answered, "as dele etc."

SACHSE then exhibited to WINSTON defense exhibit 8x2 for identification which was the Declaration of Principles and by-laws of the Young Communist League of the USA and asked him what, if anything, he did in connection with the writing of the Declaration of Principles.

(TR 14,745) MC GOWEN objects. MC GOWEN refers the Court to pages 6730, 81 and 82 of the record pointing out that instant defense exhibit 8x2 was first offered when Defendant GREEN was on the stand at which time this exhibit was excluded. Court sustains the objection.

SACHSE, with the Court's permission, stated that the purpose of his present action was to develop the personal position of WINSTON inasmuch as the evidence was aimed to show that he personally wrote the Declaration of Principles as bearing upon his individual intent. SACHSE said the Declaration was ultimately adopted by the Convention and that is what the Defense proposed to prove. The Court stated that it had re-examined the exhibit and was adhering to its ruling. SACHSE then asked the Court whether this ruling should be deemed to have made unnecessary a specific offer. The Court answered in the affirmative stating that if the question were answered affirmatively and the exhibit were offered it would have excluded it on the objection by MC GOWEN. SACHSE then stated, "Well, that sets it up pretty tightly." The Court observed that it thought SACHSE desired to have his position made clear on the record and SACHSE agreed that this was true.

(TR 14,746) Trial adjourned to September 21, 1946.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: October 7, 1949

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, wa
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Bufile 100-12304)

The only known handwriting specimens of Paul Robeson in the files of the New York Office are the photostatic copies of passport applications of the subject furnished by the Washington Field Office.

It is requested that the Washington Field Office obtain either photostatic or photographic copies of the original passport applications submitted by the subject and furnish same to the Bureau.

CC: Washington Field Office

MAT:mbs
100-25857

RECORDED - 55

EX-62

58 APR 12 1953

51 APR 12 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/80 BY SP-3 RSC/OM

Sept. 24, 1949.

Mr. Hoover
F.B.I.,
Washington D.C.

Paul Robeson

Dear Sir: I am enclosing a letter
that I received from local unit of the
communist party. If it can be of
any use to you I will be glad.

Yours truly
[Redacted Signature]

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

9

RECORDED - 9

100-12304-167
F B I
12 OCT 4 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

IS UNCLASSIFIED

12/1/80

BY SP-5 RSB/DM

FIVE

enc - a.c.h. - 9/29/49 - H.C.H.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
Cincinnati Committee

To Welcome Paul Robeson
1065 First St.
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

100-12304-167

GENTLEMEN:

I agree with the protest statements. You

own add my name to it.

Name

Address

Cincinnati Committee to Welcome Paul Robeson
1064 Flint St.
Ch 5217

Sept. 15, 1949

Dear Friend,

Enclosed is a Press Release on the undemocratic action of the Board of Education in refusing the use of Stowe school (in the heart of the West End Negro community) for a Paul Robeson civil rights rally.

We are sending you this release because the newspapers of our city have refused to print it.

The growing attacks against civil liberties in our country have recently reached a high danger point in the hoodlum-K.K.K.-police attack against a peaceful Robeson concert in Peekskill, N.Y. Newspapers, public officials and prominent citizens have expressed horror and alarm at this fascist action. Yet the Board of Education in refusing a meeting place to Robeson has acceded to the objectives of this Peekskill mob and similar forces in our city.

The fact of the matter is that a civil rights rally in the Negro community will invite no violence whatever if the city authorities and the Board of Education took a firm stand for free speech. As a matter of record, Paul Robeson is speaking in many cities. The N.Y. Times of Sept. 14th. reports that leaders of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago have spoken out against any demonstrations in connection with Robeson rallies there.

We believe that the technique of denying democratic rights because reactionary hoodlums threaten violence must be halted if free speech is to survive.

Our committee is asking that you support this fight for free speech by doing the following:

- 1-- Write a letter to the Board of Education protesting their action. Get your organization, church or union to do the same.
- 2-- Read the enclosed protest statement. If you agree with it, return the enclosed card. This statement will be sent to the Board of Education. Names will be used only in connection with this statement and not with any other activities of our committee.

We will welcome any comment or suggestions.

Respectfully yours,

G.B. Grigsby
G.B. Grigsby, Chairman

Note: The Board of Education is located at 216 East 9 St.

PROTEST STATEMENT

When the Board of Education denied Paul Robeson a place to speak in the West End, it struck a heavy blow at American freedom. We protest that denial as fundamentally un-American.

It is not in the American tradition for any Board to determine what opinions are to be advocated in buildings for community use.

We, the undersigned protest the denial of a school auditorium to Paul Robeson by the Cincinnati School Board as an attack on the right of free speech.

We challenge the statement of the Board that the meeting cannot be permitted because the Board fears violence. Are we to understand that the City of Cincinnati is no longer able to defend a citizen's right to speak--that it is no longer able to maintain law and order? If so, the Board has invited every hoodlum group in town to threaten violence as a means of preventing the opposition from speaking.

Not the opinions of Paul Robeson, but his right to state them is the issue here. It is meaningless to pretend that a man has the right of free speech when public auditoriums, open to others, are denied him. That is censorship---not free speech.

We submit that Freedom is the most valuable heritage of the American people. We submit that the arbitrary action of the School Board violates freedom in our community. We therefore call on the Board to reconsider its ill-advised action. We call on the City Council to state clearly that the City is able and willing to protect free speech. We call on other citizens to join us in this protest.

Yesterday's action of the Board of Education denying the use of Stowe school for a civil rights rally featuring Paul Robeson is a blow against free speech and civil liberties. The Board of Education is attempting to deny to thousands of Cincinnatians their inalienable right to peacefully assemble and petition for redress of grievances.

The so-called "reasons" given by the Board for their denial are a hypocritical cover-up for their anti-Negro, anti-democratic decision. The Board, which has never had Negro representation, says that there may be violence at such a meeting. In effect the Board is saying that from now on the anti-democratic elements in the city--hoodlums, fascists and K.K.K.'ers--will determine who shall be permitted the right to speak and assemble in Cincinnati. It was in this identical manner that Germany started on the path to fascism that eventually cost American lives.

The Board charges a meeting with Paul Robeson might "engender racial strife". This ridiculous statement comes from a body which itself is guilty of promoting "racial strife" every school day by its policies of segregation and discrimination in many aspects of school activity. The stock argument of the southern bourbons is to claim that speaking out and fighting discrimination provokes racial strife. The projected Robeson meeting will call for unity of Negro and white against discrimination and racial strife.

The Board of Education presents a challenge to all Cincinnatians, whether they agree with Robeson or not. Does democracy and free speech exist in our city?

We call on all city officials, progressives, the Negro people and all democratic minded men and women to join with us in this fight to keep the banner of democracy and freedom aloft in Cincinnati.

G. B. Grigsby, Chairman
Cincinnati Committee to Welcome
Paul Robeson
1064 Flint St.
Ch 5217

September 27, 1949

RECORDED

Dear [REDACTED]

100-12304-167

Handwritten: b7C/b7D [initials]

INDEXED

Your letter dated September 24, 1949, with enclosure, has been received.

I wish to express my appreciation for your action in bringing to my attention the information which you have supplied, and I am grateful for the interest which prompted your communication.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing some material which I thought might be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Dir.'s Test.

Don't be Duped by Comm.

God or Chaos? [illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/8/80 BY SP5 RSK

ANA:jk

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

NOTE: Correspondent encloses a mimeographed form which he received from the Cincinnati Committee to Welcome Paul Robeson, 1064 Flint Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, described by correspondent as the local unit of the Communist Party.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 12

★ SEP 28 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Handwritten: [initials]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/13/49

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There is being forwarded to the Bureau one undated clipping from PRAVDA entitled "KOMUNISTI bojuju za slobodu celego ludstva", and also the publication "Beseda venkauske radiny", received from [REDACTED], who indicates that these publications comment on Robeson's travels in the Soviet Union. The publication "Beseda venkauske radiny" carries an article concerning Robeson on Page 7. b7c - b7D

It is requested that the Bureau translate, and if the articles appear to be of pertinent information, forward these to the Office of Origin.

cc New York

100-8602
LSC:DB2 ENCL
36

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSG/clm

RECORDED - 36

INDEXED - 36

100-12304-168
F B I
13 OCT 14 1949

Letter
FGN: LWM
10/21/49

October 21, 1949

SAC, New Haven

Director, FBI

PAUL ROWESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Your File 100-8602)

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated October 13, 1949.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/50 BY SP5 RSG/MLM

ENCL

Enclosure

100-12304-168

New York

REGISTERED MAIL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 17

OCT 21 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FGN:LNH

OCT 28 1949

TRANSLATION FROM SLOVAK

**SUBJECT : PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.**

UNDATED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING

**A Significant Statement of PAUL ROBESON in NEW YORK
THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL MANKIND**

**Negroes will no longer die on foreign battlefields
in the interest of Imperialists.**

(CTK) NEW YORK .- On his return from MOSCOW the celebrated singer PAUL ROBESON spoke on Monday evening in the Negro Section of NEW YORK at a rally attended by about 5,000 colored workers and many white persons. ROBESON expressed his sincere thanks for the cordial welcome and talked about his trip to EUROPE and participation in the World Peace Congress at PARIS.

He told about his previous phase of life and present activity and stated: "We hate the criminal capitalistic system and shall never permit that anyone by virtue of my personal success justifies the relations of Americans with 14 million members of the colored people. The last journey has convinced me that American Imperialism wants to gain world hegemony by means of the M-Plan. Already the West-European countries have completely lost their freedom. American big capital dictates to Western Europe what to do, what to produce, what to purchase and from whom to buy. Besides this influence upon Western Europe the M-Plan intends to enslave the colony completely, how otherwise the West-European or English bankers can pay Wall Street then with raw materials, gold, copper, uranium and so on.

The American Imperialists who have bribed our Negro leaders and shot at us, whenever we tried to vote independently, are terrorizing and pushing us into a war which we do not want, accumulating wealth at the expense of our blood and killing work.

I witnessed a beautiful life when I was in the Republic of Czechoslovakia, in Poland and in the USSR. Thousands of people, men, women and children asked me to tell you about their love and sympathies for the sufferings of our colored brethren and sisters, so much that I wanted to cry many times. These people welcomed me

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSG/KM

ENCLOSURE

100-12304-168

so cordially that I shall never forget it. They not only greeted me as the singer PAUL ROBESON, but also as your and the colored people's spokesman from AMERICA and representative of a circle characterizing the AMERICA OF WALLACE and the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, as well as of the 12 leaders of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA. Outstanding statesmen of these countries received me with the greatest respect because I was your delegate.

I visited STALINRAD also. I stood at the historical place, where the heroic people of STALINRAD fought at the mighty VOLGA so that also you, you and myself, be saved from HITLER! All people in the USSR desire peace and a happy life. Freedom is theirs already. I deeply love the SOVIET UNION.

The people of the SOVIET UNION, of the countries with a People's Democracy in CENTRAL EUROPE, of the progressive representations of West-European countries and colored people whom I met in PRAGUE and MOSCOW, were in the majority COMMUNISTS. The COMMUNISTS were the first to offer their lives for our liberty and the freedom of all mankind."

In concluding PAUL ROBESON appealed to the American colored people to unite in the struggle for their liberty. He stated: "If you unite you will get laws against lynching adopted and your right to vote and work. You will gain nothing, if we face a new war with our closest allies and friends in the whole world. We no longer want to die on foreign battlefields in the interest of imperialists and warmongers. We wish to aid in the struggle for peace, for liberty and freedom of the colored people."

The Negro-leader HOWARD and the leader of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA DAVIS heartily welcomed ROBESON and stated that the colored people will never support a capitalistic war.

FGN:LWH

10/20/49

TRANSLATION FROM CZECH

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

From "HESEDA VIMKOVSKE RODINY" (RURAL FAMILY MAGAZINE), PRAGUE,
June 24, 1949, Page 7.

THE MAN WHOSE WEAPON IS A SONG

CZECHOSLOVAKIA was visited by one of the leading contemporary fighters for the rights of the African colored people and freedom of the colored people in capitalistic AMERICA — the world famous singer PAUL ROBESON who is 56 years old now.

ROBESON was enthused about our country. He not only admired its external beauty, but above all, that CZECHOSLOVAKIA is actually a country of a free people which to him, the man from the West, as he called himself, seemed like a fairy-tale. In the capitalistic world his colored brethren are exposed to the most unheard-of oppressions, just because the color of their skin is not like that of the slave traders. Racism, that most abominable offspring of FASCISM, obviously flourishes in capitalistic countries more than in FASCIST GERMANY.

ROBESON is a man of great culture and political knowledge. He is an advocate of the SOVIET UNION (also in PRAGUE he sang many Russian songs and held good Russian conversations) and respected the fact that in this Socialist country the people are judged by a different measure than the color of their skin.

But with us he felt like a free man and promised to come back. This man whose weapons are his boundless beautiful voice and songs which ring freedom, announced in PRAGUE that he will sing for no one in the world but the working people. Turning to AMERICA where his wife and son live, he also defended the 12 persons who have been imprisoned for their sympathies with the SOVIET UNION.

We wish that all of us can say if this brave man should visit us again: "Today nobody envies us. The workers of AMERICA, without exception, no matter if black or white, enjoy the same liberty today as the workers and farmers in CZECHOSLOVAKIA." - j.sv,

Pictures:

PAUL ROBESON before his appearance in the Winter Stadium at PRAGUE, where he sang for the workers.

PAUL ROBESON together with similar warriors for the rights of the oppressed — FREDERICK C. SMITH and HENRY WALLACE.

PAUL ROBESON singing to the newsmen at PRAGUE.

"Appreciate your freedom", said PAUL ROBESON to the people of PRAGUE, "The working people in the West envy you much".

A white girl heartily embraced by the black man, a scene which would not be found in America.


FGN:AB
10-20-49

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : *ghk* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, with alias
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Bufile 100-12304)

DATE: October 13, 1949

ReNYlet to the Bureau dated October 7, 1949, requesting this office to obtain copies of original passport applications of the above subject and furnish same to the Bureau for purposes of being used as handwriting specimens. By letters dated July 8 and July 18, 1949, certified copies of eight passport applications made by subject were transmitted to the New York Division for possible use in the current Communist trial in New York City in which the submission of all evidence and testimony has been concluded.

In view of the large amount of requests which this office makes of the State Department for such material, it is suggested that the New York Division utilize the duplicating facilities at its disposal to copy the aforementioned passport applications for the purpose desired.

SAS:cl
100-19021

cc - New York (100-25857)

RECORDED - 99

100-12304-169

17 OCT 14 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RSD
CLM

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC GUY HOTTEL, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: October 14, 1949

The rally for PAUL ROBESON, scheduled at 8:30 P.M. at Turner's Arena, 14th and W Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., October 13, 1949, was held as scheduled. The rally was a very orderly affair and no incidents of rowdiness occurred. The arena was completely filled and the estimates of the attendance were between two thousand and twenty-five hundred persons, of which approximately seventy-five percent were colored.

The rally was opened by WINSTON EDWARDS, a member of the Civil Rights Congress, announcing the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. Following the singing of the National Anthem, EDWARDS made a short greeting to the audience and then introduced as Master of Ceremonies, EDWARD FISHER, President of the United Cafeteria Workers, Washington, D.C., local.

FISHER stated that the rally was being held in protest of the Government's Jim Crow and segregation policy. He stated that the Government was the biggest employer in the District of Columbia and should be expected to set the pattern for other employers but that the Governmental pattern is a Jim Crow pattern and in pointing out this fact, he stressed the recent incidents at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, on 14th Street, where the buildings have segregated locker rooms, lavatories, etc. FISHER introduced from the platform OLIVER T. PALMER, MARIANNE LAUTMAN MAJCHREZYK, Rev. L. P. COLLINS, HENRY THOMAS, GERTRUDE EVANS, Executive Secretary of the Progressive Party, THOMAS RICHARDSON, ANGUS McDONALD, and GEORGE MURPHY, of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. These persons were just introduced from the platform and did not speak. FISHER then introduced Dr. JOHN CAMPER (ph), of Baltimore.

CAMPER made the statement, "I served in the First World War, my son served in the Second, and I will not have my grandson serve in a Third. — No one nation, no one group has all the brains. — Since the Soviet Union has the Atom Bomb, there is no other way than the way to peace." CAMPER also made some derogatory remarks concerning the 81st Congress, and indicated that it was a rotten, corrupt, bi-partisan Congress, which had failed to pass a single measure against segregation.

The next speaker introduced was EULALIA BOWIE, who was introduced as the Secretary of House Workers, Inc. Miss BOWIE indicated that she represented the House Workers in Washington, D.C., and that they stood behind PAUL ROBESON. She said that her group was about eight hundred strong and "We back any program that PAUL ROBESON may put up."

GGB:dm
100-19021
cc: New York

RECORDED - 124

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/00 BY SP-5 RSC/KUM

NOV 1 1949

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-69266

Letter to Director, FBI
Re: PAUL ROBESON

October 14, 1949

~~PALMER WEBBER~~ was the next speaker. He made the statement that "We do not yet have a white American of the courage and stature of PAUL ROBESON."

The following speaker was Dr. E. FRANKLIN ~~FRASIER~~, of Howard University. ~~FRASIER~~ indicated that the present negro problem is the result of what he called a "colossal lie" which was originally invented to justify negro slavery in this country.

Following ~~FRASIER~~'s speech, FISHER introduced MARY CHURCH ~~TERRELL~~. She, however, did not speak.

FISHER then introduced WILLIAM L. ~~PATTERSON~~, Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, and ~~PATTERSON~~ made the statement, "It looks like we are on the march, and this is Washington, D.C., that is on the march. Well, we have got the greatest American living as our leader — the greatest living American in the year 1949 is a black man, PAUL ROBESON, marching to peace and freedom, and the FBI and any others here from the Government can take that back to HARRY TRUMAN." He stated, "The people are answering back from Peekskill, Harlem, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C., and 'let's gain our freedom now'."

~~PATTERSON~~ then continued with the contribution speech, and contributions were announced from the following: RAY PINKSON, \$100.00, SCOTT NEERING, Committee of Washington, D.C., \$50.00, MARCUS GOLDMAN, \$25.00, JOE RINIS, \$25.00, JACK GOLDMAN, \$25.00, United Public Workers of America, \$50.00, ALBERT PEARLMAN, \$25.00, Petworth Club, Communist Party, \$10.00, Communist Party of Baltimore and Washington, \$15.00, HENRY THOMAS, \$10.00, Dr. STAPLES, JR., \$10.00, ANNE KING, \$5.00, Dr. THOMAS WILLISTON, \$5.00, WILLIAM L. ~~PATTERSON~~, \$5.00, IRVING REINGOLD, \$5.00, Veterans of Peekskill, \$5.00, Young Progressives of America, Washington, D.C., \$5.00, Progressive Party Club, 14th Ward, Baltimore, Maryland, \$2.00.

Following the contributions, WILLIAM J. ~~HUNT~~, Co-Manager of the Washington Bookshop, announced the sale of phonograph records concerning the Peekskill incident and literature from the Washington Bookshop on sale in the lobby of the arena.

A few songs were led by BETTY ~~SANDERS~~, of New York, and at 10:30 P.M., PAUL ROBESON made his appearance. He was presented with a scroll by Mrs. LILLY JAMES, Vice-President of the Local Cafeteria Workers. He received a rousing applause.

Letter to Director, FBI
Re: PAUL ROBESON

October 14, 1949

ROBESON's speech was interspersed with songs by him and he spoke from approximately 10:38 P.M. to 11:15 P.M. He suggested the impeachment of Judge MEDINA. He stated that Peekskill was a sign of weakness in American fascism, and said that he would still stand with DENNIS FOSTER and BENJAMIN DAVIS, even though they have been on trial in New York. He said that the negro people had not spoken out strongly enough and that if they had a few weeks ago, maybe instead of TOM CLARK on the Supreme Court, CHARLES HOUSTON might be in his place. He said that there was no question about his loyalty to America, but that he would have nothing to do with the DULLES' Fascists, the PANKINS of Mississippi, and the COXes of Georgia. He said that the American negroes are finding friends among the thirty million Nigerians, the West Indian Negroes, and the people of Communist China, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, and that they may also find a friend in Japan.

The meeting closed following an announcement that a collection of over \$1700.00 had been taken.

GGB:dm
100-19021

cc: New York

September 13, 1949

b7c/b7D

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Chief, F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

29318

DATE 12/9/80

SP-5 RJC/UM

Dear Sir:

I will identify myself first before going into the subject of this letter.

The writer is [REDACTED] who in 1941-42 sent to your office carbon copies of [REDACTED] stories [REDACTED] on phases of Japanese propaganda among lower classes of Negroes, throughout several sections of this country. You doubtless may have these releases in your files now for reference.

In Hoi Uttley's prize-winning best-seller, "New World A-Coming", the bulk of the last chapter titled "Made in Japan" [REDACTED]

THE PAUL ROBESON AFFAIR

b7C
b7D

During the past year I have just made a successful recovery from the threat of total blindness. In spite of the affliction, which brought temporary cessation to my duties as an [REDACTED], Headquarters, Air Materiel Command, Wright-Patterson Air Base, I have followed closely the trend of all subversive activities.

Robeson's activities and utterances are following the exact pattern of the previous Japanese agents and minions--except that the present is being carried out openly and with flaunted bravado. It is much better organized; it is interracial; it has more funds supporting it; and it appears to rely on inviolate constitutional barriers of free speech. However, Robeson should be checked, before a full development begins spreading into the midwest, on the same scale it now exists in the east.

In 1946 especially, and in 1947, I became interested in the efforts of organized labor in the area. But I soon saw a distinct red tinge was appearing in the ranks of the CIO, which since has lessened.

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As a member of [REDACTED] I discussed this matter in detail with [REDACTED] at Fort Hayes, and [REDACTED]

WHL-ackn-9/30/49-ACA

of Cleveland, then chairman of the committee.

Now, at a time when this area is more secure from such elements than it has been in a decade, there looms up a potential threat in the spread westward of such red philosophies as sponsored brazenly by Robeson.

Unfortunately, he is being accorded the very fanfare and publicity sought, with the spotlight focused on him, his group, and the theories they embrace. This in itself will attract followers who fail to look beyond the surface, if permitted to continue unchecked.

29319

Recently I have sounded out elements of both races in this section, and I find almost to a man they all are opposed to Robeson's sentiments. Just how long this will remain as such is problematic. If Robeson is permitted to go unchecked, then freedom of speech may become license for a dangerous and subtle connivance shrouded in secrecy.

I do not believe Robeson commands any following in the midwest or West, except in a casual appreciation of his artistry on the concert stage. But, an unbridled continuation of present actions and utterances will certainly create a halo around the man to the same strata of humanity to which previous Japanese propaganda was acceptable.

Since the war, a new and beneficial tolerance has developed and spread throughout this section. It will continue if unaffected by extraneous infiltrations of damaging thought.

Only a few days ago, officials at Cincinnati refused the use of Stowe school there for a Robeson appearance, indicating just how much the tranquility hereabouts is protected.

Cincinnati and Dayton are melting-pots for various conflicting ideas of a sectional nature. In them the inhibitions of one group and the prohibitions of another are harmonized successfully, and this has been going on for more than a quarter-century.

I sincerely hope a solution may be found for this growing situation.

Very truly yours,

[REDACTED]

b7c
/ b7D

September 20, 1949

RECORDED 87

X-3

100-12304-171

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/8/80 BY SP-5 RDB/MLM

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated September 13, 1949, has been received and you may be sure that your action in making available to me the views expressed in your communication is very much appreciated.

If at any time you come into possession of information relating to subversive activities or other matters coming within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI, I would appreciate your contacting Mr. A. E. Ostholthoff, Special Agent in Charge of our Cincinnati Office, 637 United States Post Office and Court House Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 3

SEP 21 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC: Cincinnati with copy of incoming.

NOTE: File 100-135-152 reflects [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported to the Bureau by the Army in July, 1943.

File 100-135-10-33 is a Cincinnati Office report of July 26, 1943, setting out letter dated May 8, 1943, from [REDACTED] to the Dayton Chamber of Commerce protesting against racial segregation and saying [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

60 OCT 25 1949

PARAISE

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[REDACTED]
September 20, 1949

29317

File 100-88-143-148 reflects letter of June 9, 1949, from [REDACTED] enclosing second of a series of articles [REDACTED] regarding Japanese sympathizers and negro organizations, and he received a cordial letter of thanks with the request that he contact our Field Office.

File 61-777-11-66 is Cleveland Office report of May 1, 1944, which lists one [REDACTED] as a member of the "Young Communist League."

File 100-342170-191 reflects that [REDACTED] colored, attended a meeting of the Communist Political Association at [REDACTED] on [REDACTED] b7C b7D

File 100-3-10-1187, page 45, and File 100-302336 reflect that one [REDACTED], was reportedly engaged in Communist activities and had been inducted into the U. S. Navy.

File 67-189580, an old applicant file on [REDACTED] noted as "killed" in Personnel Records. ←

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: September 23, 1949

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

The above captioned subject is scheduled to present a concert at Wrigley Field in Los Angeles on Friday evening September 30 under the auspices of the California Eagle, local Negro publication which is celebrating its seventieth anniversary. The California Eagle is edited by CHARLOTTA BASS, who has in the past supported the Communist Party policies and front organizations, as well as invoking the Communist Party line in connection with the news and editorial policies of the paper.

Reliable sources of information concerning Communist Party activities in the Los Angeles area have advised that FRANCES WILLIAMS, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party locally, is in charge of the arrangements for this concert, while WILLIAM C. TAYLOR, Negro Chairman of the Los Angeles County Communist Party Minorities Commission has been assisting with the concert arrangements as a member of the steering committee. Confidential informants further advised that all Communist Party members in the Los Angeles area have been instructed to attend this concert and the Communist Party through its numerous branches, is active in the sale and distribution of concert tickets.

[redacted] who is familiar with the security functions of the Los Angeles Police Department, has advised that that agency is taking every precaution to prevent the development of any riot in connection with this concert. This informant has further advised that the Police Department does not know of any planned interruptions of this concert by any local group. However, the Department feels that there will be a large crowd of curious people and should some slight incident take place which would inspire violence or violent action, that the Communist Party members would undoubtedly be prepared for immediate participation.

It is conceivable, further, according to [redacted] that the Communist Party locally might endeavor to foment an incident at the concert in order to arouse the crowd. [redacted] has further advised that the Los Angeles Police Department is assigning 1500 officers to duty in the vicinity of Wrigley Field for the event.

The Los Angeles Police Department desires that no guard of private individuals accompany ROBESON and that these instructions will be complied with, inasmuch as the Department is responsible for the policing of public

JMC:JMM
100-25861
CC New York

RECORDED - 51

INDEXED - 51

100-12304-172
OCT 25 1949

52 NOV 1 1949

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 JSC/ [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/18/90

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 23, 1949

events. These instructions have been issued subsequent to the receipt of information by the Department that ROBESON would be accompanied by an honor guard composed of members of the American Veterans Committee, which group would undoubtedly be composed of a number of Communist Party members.

According to [REDACTED] it is the desire of the Police Department to undertake the policing of this concert in such a manner so that they may ascertain how efficient and effectively various units of the Department could be mobilized in the event of a disaster or national emergency.

[REDACTED] of Alert Magazine, (Anti-Communist publication in Los Angeles) advises that the Los Angeles County Council of the American Legion has adopted a resolution requesting all posts of the American Legion to remain away from the ROBESON meeting and not to participate officially or otherwise in any demonstration in connection with it. Copies of this resolution have been sent to other civic and patriotic organizations in the area with a suggestion that they pass a similar resolution and similarly counsel their membership.

[REDACTED] advised that the Conference of Civic Organizations (composed of various civic and patriotic organizations in the Los Angeles area) held a press conference on September 21, 1949, at which time they also adopted a policy of ignoring the ROBESON meeting entirely.

On September 19, 1949 after MYRA TANNER WEISS, local Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party had announced through the circulation of letters in the city of Los Angeles that an army of 3,000 picked men would serve as a "defense guard" for the ROBESON meeting, the Los Angeles City Council passed a unanimous resolution recommending that the ROBESON concert be "ignored with a monumental silence and contempt". The City Council, according to a news article appearing in the Los Angeles Examiner on September 19, 1949 termed the concert a "Communist trap of mob violence".

Unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau, efforts will be made to have reliable confidential informants present at the meeting; however, no Special Agents will attend the meeting or otherwise be present in the immediate vicinity.

The Bureau will be advised of any important developments in connection with this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. H. B. Fletcher

FROM : R. W. Wall *R. W. Wall*

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: October 18, 1949

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

To suggest that the attached SAC letter be sent to the field advising the manner in which Robeson should be described in loyalty reports.

BACKGROUND:

Recent loyalty reports have increasingly been referring to Robeson and it is felt that a uniform thumbnail sketch describing him should be contained in Bureau loyalty reports. Accordingly, the main file covering Robeson has been reviewed and the attached thumbnail sketch prepared.

STATUS:

Pending.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached SAC letter containing a thumbnail sketch of Robeson be sent to the field; however, it is recommended this thumbnail sketch be routed to the Internal Security Section for its approval prior to being sent to the field.

Attachment

RW:man

RECORDED - 69

EX-33

23 NOV 2 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RJG/CL

63 NOV 10 1949

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 28 1949

TELETYPE

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DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/CM

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 23

28

7-01P

DIRECTOR

URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, IS-C. INFO RECEIVED THAT PEOPLE-S PARTY WILL SPONSOR
CAMPAIGN SOCIAL IN NEW BRITAIN, CONN. ON OCT. THIRTIETH, NINETEEN
HUNDRED FORTY NINE. ROBESON REPORTED UNABLE TO ATTEND BUT MISS
HOPE FOYE, NEGRO SINGER AND RESIDENT OF MERIDEN, CONN. WILL ATTEND.
MISS FOYE APPEARED AT BOTH OF ROBESON-S CONCERTS IN PEEKSKILL, NY.
FURNISHED FOR INFORMATIVE PURPOSES.

NEW HAVEN ADVISED

HOLD PLS

RECORDED - 124

INDEXED - 124

EX-79

100-12304-174

5 NOV 2 1949

cc Mr. F. L. Bates

Mr J Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D C.

Please allow us to express the hope that you will get your efficient organization after this negro Paul Robeson. He strives to be the negro leader-Stalin in this country. He is contemptible.

Sincerely,

Convinced ~~him~~ and you know
the necessity of the Communist
movement stopping in the
Country.

100-12364-175
~~100-12364-172~~

4 OCT 28 1954

RECORDED - 126

RECORDED - 126

INDEXED - 126

4 OCT-28

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61 NOV 7 1949

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- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) Department of State, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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☐ For your information: _____

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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To protect information which is currently and properly
classified pursuant to Executive Order 12065.

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters file 100-12304-177

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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100-12304-177

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Date: **RECORDED - 78**
November 28, 1949

To: **[REDACTED]**
c/o The American Embassy
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: PAUL ROBESON, WAS.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau Radiogram dated November 25, 1949.

Attached are the following photostatic copies of newspaper items concerning Paul Robeson:

2 copies of an article entitled "Probers Told Robeson Is Veteran Red," which appeared in the Washington, D. C. Times Herald dated July 15, 1949.

2 copies of an article entitled "Soviet Is Country 'I Love Above All,'" which appeared in the Evening Star of Washington, D. C. dated June 15, 1949.

2 copies of an article entitled "Robeson's Peace Message," which appeared in the London, England issue of the Daily Worker dated February 18, 1949.

2 copies of an article entitled "Robeson Praises Seattle On Attitude Toward Race," which appeared in the Seattle Star of Seattle, Washington, dated February 12, 1946.

2 copies of an article entitled "The Story of Paul Robeson," which appeared in the Magazine Section of the Worker dated April 16, 1944.

The Worker is the Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, an east coast Communist newspaper published in New York City.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ET:jdt

MAILED 12
NOV 28 1949
COMM - F

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/80 BY SP-5 [signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to:

11-25-49

29313

C/O THE AMERICAN EMBASSY
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA

URGENT
RADIOGRAM

PAUL ROBESON, WAS, IS - C. REUR

NO OPEN DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE TO PROVE SUBJECT'S CP AFFILIATIONS AVAILABLE
AT BUREAU. HOWEVER, NEWSPAPER ITEMS REFLECTING PRO-RUSSIAN ATTITUDE
AND COMMUNIST LEADINGS WILL BE FORWARDED AMSD.

HOOVER

NR. 120

Enc. 1, 2, 3
0100-0125
cls 0100-0125

RET:OAS

G.I.R.-7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/80 BY SP-5 RJS/bk/uk

RECORDED - 115

100-12304-178

4 NOV 29 1949

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED READING ROOM
NOV 25 5 40 PM '49

56 DEC 6 1949
SENT VIA Radio 11/25/49 8:58 P.M.

Per [Signature]

SAC, New York

December 5, 1949

Director, FBI

PAUL ROBESON
INFORMATION CONCERNING

RECORDED - 97

100-12304-179
The following anonymous note was received at the Bureau postmarked at New York, New York, November 28, 1949.

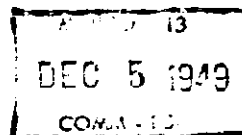
The note is as follows:

"If you want something on Robeson the Negro singer. He visits a white girl at 22 East 89th Street, NYC apartment. Calls her his secretary. He goes up in a self-service elevator don't know what floor."

The above is furnished for your information.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ENK:dm
180 dm



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/CLM

GRAND STAMP
 NEW YORK, N.Y.
 NOV 28 1949
 1 Mr. DE ROOVER
 FBI -
 Washington
 Crime Dept.

If you want some
 thing on. Roberson
 the negro singer
 he parts a white
 girl at 22 East 89th
 St. N.Y.C. at
 calls for her secretary
 he goes up and
 she says that he
 don't know her

RECORDED - 97

100-12347-179
 RECORDED
 DEC 7 1949

58 DEC 12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 8/1/80 BY SP8 K260M

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters File 100-12304-180

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SAC, New York

December 6, 1949

RECORDED

Director, FBI

100-12304-181

PAUL ROBESON, was
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bu File 100-12304

X-70

For your information there is attached a copy of a letter dated November 4, 1949, from the Los Angeles office captioned [REDACTED] was, Security Matter - C," in which information is set out concerning Paul Robeson.

b7c

As you may note, one Rena Marie Vale has furnished an affidavit to the effect that in 1935 Paul Robeson identified himself to her as a Communist Party member.

Attachment

MET:jmf

jmf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

12/9/50

SP-5 RSC/cim

Rfo
1037
gpg

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 4
DEC 6 1949
COMM-FBI

DEC 20 1949

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI
RECEIVED
DEC 8 4 02 PM '49

TRANSMITTED

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 4, 1949

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
SECURITY MATTER - C
Bureau File No. 100-263371

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

my

Rebulet October 25th last referring to the report of SA [REDACTED] dated September 22, 1949 at Los Angeles, California.

b7c

The information attributed to T-2 originated with [REDACTED] and not [REDACTED] as stated in the referenced report. This source on [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee planned a dinner in honor of PAUL ROBESON, at Los Angeles, on February 4, 1945. This meeting was to be held at the Ambassador Hotel at Los Angeles, and the source revealed that the plans for the dinner had struck a snag in that the Ambassador Hotel had rejected their application for a reservation on the grounds that their organization was Communist. MILDRED ROBINSON, according to this source, told JOHN HOWARD LAMSON, who was then considered as the head of the Northwest Section of the Los Angeles County Communist Political Association, that a telegraph campaign was being planned.

b7D

b1

b7c

In this regard, however, it is noted in Los Angeles File 65-1546-17, page 3, that KATHA MARIE VALE, who in November, 1942 resided at 1247 1/2 Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, California, made a sworn affidavit before the Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California-AR-277. She made this affidavit on November 9, 1942. She related that she studied various books and articles on Communism and finally in 1935 began to favor Communism in the United States. She stated "That in the latter part of 1935, I was working on the motion picture 'Show Boat' (Universal Studios) and in that work met the Negro Singer, PAUL ROBESON and his wife ESSIE ROBESON; that PAUL ROBESON identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and urged me to affiliate with the Communist Party."

The report of SA [REDACTED] is being corrected and the corrected pages are being submitted herewith. It appears that the improper informant designation in this case was a typographical error.

b7c

ENC.
100-20516
gad:emd

12/9/50
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RJS/KM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

RECORDED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
1176

100-12304-181

DEC 14 1949

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW HAVEN, CONN.**

NH FILE NO. 100-8032 DB

REPORT MADE AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.	DATE WHEN MADE 12/28/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 11/29, 30/49	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> b7c
TITLE ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON, aka Mrs. Paul Leo Robeson, Essie Robeson			CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject, the wife of ~~PAUL ROBESON~~, noted concert singer, maintains residence at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Conn. She was unsuccessful Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State of Connecticut, 1948 election. Activities of subject, who is Vice Chairman of Peoples Party of Connecticut, set out. Subject presently on trip to Moscow and Peiping as delegate of Congress of American Women to Annual Council Meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- C -

REFERENCE:

Bufile 100-12304.
Report of SA dated 7/10/47 at New Haven, Conn. **b7c**

DETAILS:

This case has been reopened in order to consolidate information regarding the subject which has been obtained since the submission of the last report.

Residence and Employment

The subject, the wife of PAUL ROBESON, concert singer, resides at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Conn. The "Hartford Courant", a daily paper published at Hartford, Conn., dated November 10, 1949, advised that the subject and Mrs. MURIEL DRAPER departed the United States on November 9, 1949 for Amsterdam enroute to Moscow, Russia, as delegates of the Congress of American Women to the annual council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation. According to this article, the

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="text-align: center;"><i>G. S. Sherson</i></div>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPY IN FILE		100-12304-182	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 1 - New York (info) 3 - New Haven		CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSG/CLK REASON-FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90	RECORDED - 23 INDEXED - 23

COPIES DESTROYED 4-30-87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-87

100-8032

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

meeting will be held in Moscow from November 15 - 20, 1949. Mrs. ROBESON indicated that she will go from Moscow to Peiping, China to attend the First Conference of Asian Women scheduled for the first week in December, 1949.

Peoples Party Candidate

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the subject was present at the Third Party State Convention held at Bushnell Memorial Hall at Hartford, Conn. on June 26, 1948, at which time she was nominated as a candidate for Secretary of State for the State of Connecticut on the Peoples Party ticket. This information was confirmed by an article appearing in the "Hartford Courant" dated June 27, 1948.

The New Britain, Connecticut "Daily Herald" dated October 27, 1948, in a full page political advertisement headed "Now Your Vote Can Count for Peace", and "Wallace's New Party Program Will Be Carried Out in Connecticut", listed the subject as a Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State for Connecticut. b7D

Peoples Party Activities

It is to be noted that the Peoples Party of Connecticut, formerly a local chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America, according to information furnished by Confidential Informants [REDACTED], [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] all of known reliability, was dominated and controlled by members of the CP in Connecticut.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of unknown reliability, of [REDACTED] advised that a social was held on [REDACTED] at [REDACTED]. The informant, who was present at this social, advised that PAUL ROBESON was the featured speaker at this affair. The subject was also present and spoke briefly, stating that her husband would probably be put in jail at any time (reason not given by the subject). The subject further stated that the "United States is a free country and people should be allowed to do as they please".

According to the informant, the purpose of this social was to raise funds for the campaign of Henry A. Wallace for President.

On July 14, 1948 the "Torrington Register", a daily paper published at Torrington, Conn., listed the subject as a scheduled speaker

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

104

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-6032

at a meeting of the Torrington Chapter of the Peoples Party of Connecticut which was to be held July 15, 1948 at the Alhambra Building, Torrington, Conn.

On July 17, 1948 the subject was listed by the "Waterbury Republican", a daily paper published at Waterbury, Conn., as a speaker at the Peoples Party Fifth Congressional District Convention which was scheduled to be held at the Central YMCA, Waterbury, Conn. on July 18, 1948.

The "Bridgeport Post", a daily paper published at Bridgeport, Conn., on July 22, 1948 advised that the subject was appointed as a delegate of the Peoples Party of Connecticut to attend the Third Party National Convention scheduled to be held in Philadelphia, Pa. on July 23, 1948.

On July 30, 1948 the "Stamford Advocate", a daily paper published at Stamford, Conn., advised that the subject was a guest speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Greenwich Wallace Group which was held at the home of Mrs. OPHELIA SMITH, Hamilton Avenue, Greenwich, Conn., on July 29, 1948. At this meeting the subject stated: "The major problems facing the American people today are high prices, housing, and civil liberties, and no amount of Communist-baiting is going to change that."

In speaking of the problems of minority groups, the subject charged that President Truman's equality order concerning the armed forces "does not abolish Jim Crow--all it does is set up another committee". The subject further stated: "I am not a Communist. I tell you this because you do not ask me. It's really not important anyway. If we lynched all the Communists in this country or sent them to Moscow, that would not solve the major problem of inflation or the housing shortage. The only way to solve them is to build for peace and not for war."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the subject was the principal speaker at a political rally of the Peoples Party held at the Labor Temple, Goffe Street, New Haven, Conn. on October 19, 1948, at which time she discussed "Red Baiting". The subject also discussed her trip to Italy. When asked a question regarding civil rights in Russia, the subject replies that during her stay in Russia she was treated "with open arms", and that being a Negro made no difference in Russia. b7D

The "New Haven Register", a daily paper published at New Haven, Conn., on November 3, 1948 advised that the subject, as a Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State of Connecticut, received 1462 votes in the New Haven area.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, on [redacted] furnished a letterhead of the Peoples Party of Connecticut, which was dated August, 1949. This letterhead listed the subject as a Vice Chairman of instant or ganization. b7D

Communist Party Associates

On October 19, 1948 Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] observed the subject at Union Station, New Haven, Conn., at which time she was met by PAUL BLOOM, PAUL KELLY, EDDIE NELSON, and MIKE SPENCER. This delegation was believed to be a representative group from the New Haven Chapter of the Peoples Party of Connecticut. According to [redacted] and [redacted] both of known reliability, all four members of this Peoples Party delegation are members of the CP in the New Haven area. [redacted] reported that the subject was present in New Haven to address a Peoples Party rally held at the Labor Temple in New Haven on that date. b7c

The subject advised Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, in [redacted] that Dr. EMILY PIERSON of Cromwell, Conn. invited her to visit her while ANNA LOUISE STRONG, noted Russian propagandist, who was recently expelled from Russia, was a guest at the Pierson home in Cromwell, Conn. According to the informant, the subject did visit Dr. EMILY PIERSON and ANNA LOUISE STRONG at the Pierson home on March 10 and 11, 1949. b7D

Again in [redacted] the subject conferred with Confidential Informant [redacted] at which time the subject attempted to explain the reason for ANNA LOUISE STRONG's expulsion from Russia. According to the informant, the subject pointed out that "all of us" and "all of them" know that there is nothing wrong with her (Anna Louise Strong), and indicated that the reason Strong was expelled from Russia was the fact that she, Strong, desired to go into an area (China) on which they (Russia) wanted no attention focussed. b7D

The subject further advised the informant that she believed that Europe is a diversion and that they (Russia) really think that their hope in their future is some place quite different.

MICHAEL A. RUSSO, State Chairman of the Communist Party in Connecticut, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, in September, 1949 suggested that arrangements should be made to have the subject address a large Negro Wallace Meeting. According to the informant, the date and place of this meeting were not indicated by Russo.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~IWO Speaker

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, furnished information which reflected that the subject was to be a guest speaker at meetings sponsored by the IWO on the "Culture of the African People". These meetings were scheduled to be held at Philadelphia, Quaker Town, and Harrisburg, Pa. on January 28, 29, and 30, 1949.

Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, advised that the International Woman's Day was celebrated on March 8, 1949, and the Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship sent greetings to the women of the Soviet Union. The subject's name appeared as one of the signers of this greeting, according to the informant.

It is to be noted that both organizations listed above, the IWO, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Bill of Rights Congress

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, on [REDACTED] furnished a copy of the "Call to a Bill of Rights Congress" which listed the subject's name as a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference.

- C L O S E D -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IDENTITY OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA [REDACTED] dated 12/28/49 at New Haven, Conn., entitled "ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON aka - SECURITY MATTER - C", are as follows: b7c

- T-1 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-2 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-3 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-4 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-5 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-6 is [REDACTED] (C)
T-7 is [REDACTED] (on [REDACTED]) b7D
T-8 is [REDACTED] (on [REDACTED])
T-9 is [REDACTED] (to SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]) b7C
T-10 is New York letter to the Bureau captioned "Weekly Trends", dated 3/21/49.
T-11 is New York [REDACTED] as set forth in report of SA [REDACTED] dated at New York 8/4/49 entitled "BILL OF RIGHTS CONFERENCE, NEW YORK CITY - INTERNAL SECURITY - C". b7C

A copy of this report is being furnished to the New York Office in view of the fact that the subject's husband is a security index subject in that office.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-12304-182

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

RECORDED - Date: January 31, 1950

EX-103

Mr. Jack D. Neal
Associate Chief
Division of Security
Department of State
515 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RJB/CJM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [Signature]
DATE 1-2-50

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON, with aliases
Mrs. Paul Robeson, Fannie Robeson
SECURITY MATTER - C

The above-captioned individual was born on December 15, 1895, at Washington, D. C., and maintains her residence at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Connecticut. She is the wife of Paul Robeson, prominent Negro concert singer who has been active in Communist circles for many years.

Information has been received to the effect that on November 9, 1949, Eslanda Goode Robeson departed from the United States for Amsterdam en route to Moscow, Russia, as a delegate of the Congress of American Women to the annual council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation. This meeting was to have been held in Moscow, Russia, from November 15, 1949, until November 20, 1949. It was further reported that Mrs. Robeson had indicated she would then attend the First Conference of Asian Women scheduled for the first week in December, 1949, at Peiping, China.

The above is furnished for your confidential information and should not be disseminated outside your organization. It would be appreciated if you would furnish this Bureau any information you may receive concerning Mrs. Robeson during her stay outside the United States.

cc - Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2210 F Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Attention: [Redacted]

CJA:IGS

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 Y22

MAY 16 1977

FEB 1 1950
COMM. FBI

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 24 1949

TELETYPE

WASHINGTON 2 FROM NEW YORK 24 11-26 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

MISCELLANEOUS INFO.

[REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED ON TWELVE TWENTYFOUR FORTYNINE THAT HIS OFFICE AT ABOVE ADDRESS HAD BEEN BROKEN INTO ON TWELVE TWENTYTHREE FORTYNINE BETWEEN FIVE PM AND SEVEN PM. ENTRY HAD BEEN GAINED BY CHIPPING AWAY LOCK ON DOOR. [REDACTED] WESTCHESTER GRAND JURY WHO CONDUCTED AN INQUIRY INTO PEEKSKILL INCIDENT LAST FALL INVOLVING PAUL ROBESON. HE STATED NOTHING WAS STOLEN BUT THAT HE HAD CONFIDENT PAPERS IN HIS UNLOCKED DESK, PART OF WHICH PERTAINED TO GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION AT PEEKSKILL. NONE OF THE PAPERS WERE MISSING NOR DID THEY APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN DISTURBED. HE WAS REPORTING MATTER FOR INFO OF BUREAU. [REDACTED] ADVISED TO CONTACT NYCPD. NO FURTHER INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY THIS OFFICE.

END ACK PLS

WA NY R -2 WA

62 JAN 10 1950

RECEIVED

RECORDED - 450

INDEXED - 41

SCHEIDT

DEC 29 1949

100-12304-183

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-25857**

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 1/9/59	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/30; 7/14, 15, 19, 20-22; 8/1, 16; 9/6, 8, 9, 30; 10/5; 11/1; 12/13, 14, 15, 19, 28/49	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]
TITLE "CHANGED" PAUL ROBESON, was. Paul LeRoy Robeson, John Thomas			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS CONTAINED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

The "New York Times" 6/20/49 reported ROBESON at Welcome Home Rally attacked CP trial. Article reflected subject returned home on 6/16 from four-months' tour of Europe.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*

DATE **AUG 01 1977**

b1 b7D
[REDACTED] stated ROBESON spoke on 6/28 at CRC Rally at Madison Square Garden. "New York Post and Home News" 7/14/49 reported MANNING JOHNSON testified before House Committee "that ROBESON is member of CP." "D. W." 7/18/49 reported ROBESON at Bill of Rights Conference on 7/17/49 told delegates that a Non-partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders was in formation. New York "Herald Tribune", 8/5/49, reported ROBESON, with 100 persons, had picketed the White House in Washington, D.C. "New York Sun", 8/31/49, reported ROBESON had spoken at a protest rally on 8/30/49 concerning "Peekskill Riot." [REDACTED] advised all Queens County CP members had been told to attend Peekskill gathering on 9/3. On [REDACTED] advised subject had attended dinner sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. On [REDACTED] advised subject had been active in campaign for re-election of Communist Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. [REDACTED] advised ROBESON is co-chairman of National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. JOHN J. HUBER, former member of CP testified before Senate Subcommittee "that PAUL ROBESON is a member of the Communist Party."

CLASS. & EXT. BY **SP-5 RSH/111**
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW **2/17/13**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *Edward Schmitt*
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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EX-87

NY 100-25857

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REFERENCE:

Bureau file 100-12304

Report of SA [REDACTED] 7/6/49 at New York b7c

DETAILS:

The name PAUL LEROY ROBESON, as reflected in the records of the New York State Board of Law Examiners at Albany, New York, has been added to the title.

The "Daily Worker", issue of June 20, 1949, reported that the National Committee of the Progressive Party had sent greetings to PAUL ROBESON, co-chairman of the Party, on June 19, 1949. The article reflected that the greetings were purported to state the Committee "proudly welcomes back to America an illustrious leader of American Progressives, a courageous standard-bearer of the Negro people and a great American."

The article further reflected that "by his action, word and deed throughout his tour of Europe that ROBESON had forged another link in the unbreakable peace chain that the American people in concert with the struggling peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East are forging to keep in check the war inciters."

The "New York Times", issue of June 20, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON "at a welcome home rally for him attacks trial of red leaders here." The article further reflected that the "Communist sympathizer" told a cheering crowd at the Rockland Palace, 155th Street and 8th Avenue, New York City, on June 19, 1949, that he "loved the Soviet people more than those of any other nation."

This article further reflected that ROBESON, on June 16th had returned from a four month tour of Europe and the Soviet Union. ROBESON is reported to have said in his speech at the rally that he "loved the Soviets because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world." ROBESON referred to the eleven Communist leaders as "brave fighters for my freedom whose struggle is our struggle." He declared "that if the defendants were not freed all Americans can say good-bye to civil liberties, and especially the Negro people can say good-bye to any attempt to secure civil liberties."

In the above article it was reported that the meeting was held under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, of which ROBESON

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is co-chairman. The following individuals were also listed as having spoken at the meeting: BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., Representative VITO MARCANTONIO and Dr. W. E. DUBOIS.

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, b7D advised that he had attended the Welcome Home Rally for PAUL ROBESON, which was held on June 19th at the Rockland Palace. The informant stated that in his speech to the audience ROBESON had said that he was not afraid of the Communists and that he would "defend them as they have defended us, the Negro people." The informant further advised that ROBESON had told the audience in his speech that at the Paris Conference, "I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people of America and elsewhere in the world could be drawn into a war with the U.S.S.R."

[REDACTED] b1
(S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised on [REDACTED] a rally on June 28th at Madison Square Garden which had been sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress. The informant said that the principal speakers had been PAUL ROBESON, EUGENE DENNIS and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. b7D

According to the informant, ROBESON'S first words in greeting the audience had been, "I am back from Europe to fight for the twelve brave

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leaders at Foley Square, whom we can free and must free." [redacted] stated that ROBESON'S speech had dealt mainly with the trial of the twelve Communist leaders and that ROBESON had emphasized the need for everyone to fight for the freeing of these leaders.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of July 14, 1949, reported that Rabbi BENJAMIN SCHULTZ of New York, Executive Director of the American League Against Communism, had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., on July 13th. Rabbi SCHULTZ, in his testimony, had stated that PAUL ROBESON "was taking part in a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities here in the United States." Rabbi SCHULTZ also had stated that the object of this was "to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for Stalinist revolution and conquest."

The "New York Post and Home News", issue of July 14, 1949, reported that MANNING JOHNSON had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., on the above date. JOHNSON, an admitted former member of the Communist Party National Committee, had testified that PAUL ROBESON "had been a member of the Communist Party for many years." JOHNSON stated that ROBESON "has illusions of grandeur and that ROBESON is desirous of becoming the black STALIN and the Communist Party is encouraging that." The article further reflected that JOHNSON had stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party up to 1940 and that "during my years of Communist membership I frequently met PAUL ROBESON in Party Headquarters, going to or coming from meetings with top Communist leaders." JOHNSON advised that these Communist Party leaders with whom ROBESON had associated were EARL BROWDER, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JACK STACHEL and J. PETERS. JOHNSON stated that ROBESON'S Party membership has been kept secret from rank and file Communists.

The "Daily Worker", issue of July 18, 1949, reported that at the Bill of Rights Conference held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City on July 17, PAUL ROBESON had told the delegates that a Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders was in the process of formation. ROBESON is reported as having stated that the case of the Communist leaders "was the key to the entire struggle for civil rights in America."

The "New York Post and Home News", issue of July 18, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, whose loyalty to Soviet Russia is undisputed,

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but whose exact relationship to the Communist Party has been a matter of doubt, appeared today to have cleared up the latter point."

In this article it was reported that ROBESON, in speaking on July 17 at the closing session of the Bill of Rights Conference at the Henry Hudson Hotel, had said that "we Negro people, we Progressives, we Communists, we little people would be in the forefront of the struggle of the American people who are losing their rights." The article further reported that ROBESON had not denied using the above phrases nor had he repudiated or explained another statement reportedly made by him, namely "We have found a weapon with which to fight--a weapon which originated with a man named MARX."

The "New York Journal American", issue of July 20, 1949, reported that mass picketing had been expected when PAUL ROBESON "leftist Negro singer speaks at a rally scheduled at the Mosque Theatre, Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey."

The article further reflected that a call had been issued by GEORGE STEVENS, Essex County Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, for members of all the forty-six posts to meet in front of the theatre.

According to this article ROBESON had been billed as the principal speaker of the meeting which had been called by the Civil Rights Congress in connection with the case of six Negroes who were convicted of murder in Trenton, New Jersey.

The "Daily Worker", issue of July 24, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, on July 22 had assailed the "machine politicians" for ganging up on Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS by running EARL BROWN as a coalition candidate in the 21st Senatorial District. The article reflected that ROBESON had charged that BROWN would have the "dubious pleasure of splitting the Negro people, of undermining racial unity and of furthering the interest of his master by campaigning against New York's fighting councilman."

The "Baltimore Afro-American", issue of July 26, 1949, reported that when interviewed in Moscow during his recent trip to the Soviet Union, PAUL ROBESON had told the Russian people that "Russia is the country I love more than any other. I always have been, I am now and always will be a most loyal and sincere friend of the Soviet Union."

The New York "Herald Tribune", issue of August 5, 1947, reported that PAUL ROBESON, with more than 100 persons, had picketed the

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White House in Washington, D. C., on this date in protest against what was called "discriminatory employment practices" at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D. C. The picket line had been sponsored by Local 30 of the United Public Workers of America and by a local citizen's committee in Washington, D. C.

It was further reported in the above article that ROBESON had picketed the White House in his role as an honorary member of the union.

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 5, 1949, reflected an advertisement of Camp Unity in which it was reported that PAUL ROBESON "would be the guest of honor at the camp for the week-end of August 12 to 14."

On August 6, 1949, Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that he had attended a street meeting on this date at the corner of 126th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The informant said that the principal speakers at the meeting had been BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JOHN WILLIAMSON, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and PAUL ROBESON. [redacted] stated that ROBESON, in his speech, had spoken in defense of the twelve Communist leaders and for the re-election of Councilman DAVIS. b7D

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 7, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, had denounced President TRUMAN'S appointment of Attorney General TOM CLARK to the Supreme Court as a "gratuitous and outrageous insult to my people." The article reports that ROBESON also had charged that "CLARK had attacked the Negro people and organizations fighting on their behalf."

It was further reflected in the above article that ROBESON had charged that "CLARK has winked at Jim Crow and white supremacy tyranny and has refused to take action against the lynchers and oppressors of the Negro people."

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 8, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON had spoken at a "Free Winston Meeting" on August 6th at 126th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. It was reflected that ROBESON, in his speech, had demanded the freedom of HENRY WINSTON who had been jailed by Judge MEDINA for Contempt in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders.

On [redacted] Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that he had visited Camp Unity on this date and that Camp Unity had dedicated that week-end to PAUL ROBESON. The informant stated that ROBESON had

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spoken about police violence in America against Negroes; the free will of the Ku Klux Klan in the South to terrorize Negroes and the trial of the twelve Communist leaders. The informant advised that ROBESON had also spoken concerning his activity in the Council on African Affairs and that ROBESON had made an appeal for contributions for that organization.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of August 29, 1949, contained an article entitled "ROBESON: He Asked for it."

The above article reported that ROBESON rose to prominence as a singer but that he is no longer primarily an artist. "He is first and foremost an apologist and propagandist for the Soviet Union and for Communism. He loves Soviet Russia above his own country."

The article further reflected that war veterans had demonstrated against ROBESON on August 27 and had clashed with ROBESON'S supporters.

It was pointed out in this article that riots are ugly things, "but ROBESON has been asking for it, the veterans had as much right to demonstrate as the Communists who daily attempt to mock Judge MEDINA'S court. More right."

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 29, 1949, reported "Lynch Mob Runs Amuck at ROBESON'S Concert." PAUL ROBESON had been scheduled to sing at Lakeland Acres on August 27, just outside Peekskill, New York. This concert had been put on by ROBESON for the benefit of the Harlem Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress and had been sponsored by People's Artists, Inc., a cultural organization.

The above article further reported that "a mob of 300 vandals, inflamed by the newspapers and official hysteria, ambushed an outdoor concert where PAUL ROBESON was to sing." In this article it was charged that the mob had burned a Klan cross and had assaulted hundreds of men, women and children.

The "New York Sun", issue of August 31, 1949, reported that on August 30 PAUL ROBESON had spoken at a protest rally held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, 140th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The rally was reported to have been sponsored by "a small group of citizens who object to the painful Fascist hoodlum attack on a great artist."

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This article further reported that in his speech at the rally ROBESON had declared that he would return to Peekskill and that "from now on we take the offensive. We'll have our meetings and our concerts all over the United States."

On [REDACTED], Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that he had attended a rally on [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] which had been sponsored by the Harlem Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress and which had been held in protest of the "Fascist attack on PAUL ROBESON by veterans at Peekskill, New York, on August 27th."

The informant stated that the principal speakers at the rally had been PAUL ROBESON, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, VITO MARCANTONIO and FERDINAND SMITH. [REDACTED] advised that ROBESON had announced that he would return to Peekskill to give a concert and that "from now on we take the offensive and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting."

[REDACTED]

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 1, 1949, reported that "Harlem shook with anger and fiery defiance Tuesday night as more than 15,000 in and outside the Golden Gate Ballroom and in a historic torch-light parade protested and demanded prosecution of the Peekskill mobsters who attempted to lynch PAUL ROBESON." In this article it was reported that speeches had been made by PAUL ROBESON, HALOIS MOORHEAD, HOWARD FAST, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, VITO MARCANTONIO, CHARLES LEVY, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, FERDINAND SMITH, RALPH POWE and PAUL ADROSS.

ROBESON is reported to have stated, "I am going back to Peekskill with my friends and they'll know where to find me. This marks the turning point. From now on we take the offensive, and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting. The surest way to get protection is to show them from now on we're going to protect ourselves."

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On [redacted] Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, advised that at a meeting of [redacted] Communist Party "all comrades were told they must attend the Peekskill gathering on September 3 when PAUL ROBESON would appear."

The informant stated that the Communist Party had issued orders that "1,000 strong male comrades were to be present in the area by 8 A.M. as a security and police force and that this force was to be followed by 1,000 additional strong men who must reach the area by noon time." [redacted] advised that the Communist Party had instructed "that everyone should bring a baseball bat and golf equipment as the area is a wonderful place to practice golf club swinging."

The informant stated that it was his impression that the Communist Party had intended to provoke the veterans and cause disturbances.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of September 4, 1949, reported that "the Grand Jury yesterday began its probe of the ROBESON riots. Supreme Court Justice BAILEY at White Plains ordered the October term Westchester County panel to conduct a John Doe inquiry into all phases of the disorders which accompanied the assemblage of a certain Communist group."

The article further reflected that the twenty-two jurors had heard the preliminary outline of the case from District Attorney FENELLI, who had advised them that "the crimes which might be established could include assault-rioting, inciting to riot, violation of the Sullivan Law, disorderly conduct and malicious mischief. District Attorney FENELLI also had told the jurors that they would be asked to determine "if the so-called security guard with which ROBESON's followers encircled the concert grounds near Peekskill on this date, September 4, constituted a private militia", which formation, FENELLI said, is a crime.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 4, 1949, reported that the PAUL ROBESON concert at Peekskill, New York, on September 3, "was wrecked by mobs of hoodlums backed by state and local officials."

The article further reflected that ROBESON had charged, "that the cue for violence against Negroes and all progressives had been given when the House Un-American Committee had investigated him for alleged disloyalty and when progressive organizations had been placed on Attorney General TOM CLARK'S subversive list.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 5, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, Negro singer and people's leader, will appear in the

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"American Continental Congress for Peace" which opens in Mexico City on this date.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 6, 1949, reported that "an emergency committee of prominent progressive and labor leaders yesterday demanded the arrest and trial of all individuals and officials guilty of fomenting or aiding the Peekskill outrages." The following individuals were reported to have participated in the formation of the above committee: PAUL ROBESON, HOWARD FAST, C. B. BALDWIN, LEON STRAUSS and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

The above article further reflected that the committee had "called upon citizens to urge President TRUMAN and Attorney General HOWARD McGRATH, Governor DEWEY and State Attorney General NATHANIEL F. GOLDSTEIN to:

- "1. Suspend and bring to trial all officials bearing responsibility in the affair.
2. Arrest the 'so-called veteran leaders.' The committee identified a number of them and was prepared to name more.
3. Take action against the KKK in Westchester County and elsewhere.
4. Guarantee protection for the peace loving citizens of Westchester County who are still being threatened by the Fascist goons.
5. Compensate all victims of the attack."

The New York "Daily News", issue of September 6, 1949, reported that, "ROBESON, Vet Chiefs Trade Riot Charges." The September 4th musicale of PAUL ROBESON was followed by five hours of rioting near Peekskill and ROBESON and spokesmen for the veterans who paraded against the concert have blamed each other for the disorders in which twenty persons were arrested and more than 150 were injured.

The article further reflected that "left wing sources" professed to see a conspiracy between police and rock throwers while the veterans' leaders blamed the concert sponsor for having "incited the violence."

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It was further reported in the above article that the Civil Rights Congress "lambasted Governor DEWEY for the disorders." The Civil Rights Congress has charged that Governor DEWEY "has made Jim Crow and anti-Negro violence a policy of the Government of the State of New York."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the [REDACTED] Communist Party had [REDACTED] made plans for Party members and Communist Party sympathizers to act as guards at the ROBESON concert to be held on September 4 at Peekskill, New York. The informant stated that guards had been selected by the Communist Party [REDACTED]

The informant stated he had learned [REDACTED] that women had carried weapons for some of the men who had been afraid to use them when they saw police guards in such large numbers at the concert.

[REDACTED] advised that he had learned from some of the Communist Party members that ROBESON'S participation in the recent Peekskill concerts had been partly for the purpose of getting favorable publicity for ROBESON in the event he would be called as a witness in the trial of the Communist leaders. The informant also advised that it had been the intended purpose to utilize the Peekskill incidents so as to stress the acts of police brutality and acts of discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups in the Communist trial and for the re-election campaign of Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that PAUL ROBESON, as a member of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders had sent to various individuals the following telegram: "Yesterday's New York daily 'Compass' exposed open prejudice of one of the jurors, Mr. JANNEY, in the trial of twelve Communists. Defense motion to declare mistrial under consideration. Urgent we get wires to Judge MEDINA, Foley Square, New York, immediately asking that defense motion be granted."

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The New York edition of the "Pittsburgh Courier", issue of September 10, 1949, reported that the Civil Rights Congress has protested against alleged police participation in the Peekskill riot and that the Civil Rights Congress has announced that a delegation "would march on Albany to demand an audience with Governor DEWEY."

This article further reflected that PAUL ROBESON has demanded a complete investigation and the prosecution of the Ku-Klux Klan, both in Westchester County and in the entire State of New York.

The records of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, reflected that on September 20, 1949, PAUL ROBESON had appeared as a defense witness in the case entitled, "U. S. vs. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, et al."

The records further reflected that ROBESON in his testimony had briefly related his personal history and had stated that he knew all the defendants. However, when the defense was asked if ROBESON was a character witness, the defense had advised that he was not. The record reflected that the defense, after objections had been sustained to their questioning of ROBESON, had stated that it was impossible to obtain from ROBESON the testimony that he had been called to give and therefore that they wished to withdraw him as a witness. This had been consented to by Judge MEDINA and ROBESON had been excused as a witness.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 22, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs "will leave September 23rd for a country tour of Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Philadelphia."

The article further reflected that ROBESON had been scheduled to speak and sing in the above cities and "will give his views on the Negro people's fight for economic security, civil rights and full equality." The tour was arranged and sponsored by the Council on African Affairs.

The "Daily Worker", issue of October 5, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON "blasted the gag rule by Judge HAROLD R. MEDINA against the appearance of BENJAMIN DAVIS as his own attorney in the trial of the National Communist leaders at Foley Square." The article further reported that ROBESON had charged "that they know they cannot answer for the discrimination and persecution of the Negro people so they will not let anyone bring it into court." It is further reflected in this issue of the "Daily Worker" that PAUL ROBESON had returned from a tour of major cities in the United States and that he had been well received in Los Angeles and Chicago.

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The article further reflected that ROBESON at a press conference had declared that "the re-election of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS would be the complete answer to Peekskill. The Negro people in the United States, Africa, and the West Indies are becoming so aroused over the denial of even basic freedom that the rule of the white Bourbon capitalists will be short lived."

The "New York Post and Home News," issue of October 14, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, the left-wing baritone, will campaign actively for Rep. MARCANTONIO, the ALP candidate for Mayor."

The "New York Times", issue of October 15, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON had told an audience in Philadelphia on this date that he would seek the impeachment of Federal Judge HAROLD R. MEDINA who had presided over the trial of the eleven top-ranking Communists convicted in New York.

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that he had attended a rally at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 24, which had been sponsored by the American Labor Party. The informant said the principal speakers had been: DAVID LIVINGSTON, RAY TREV, ADA JACKSON, EWART GUINIER, PAUL L. ROSS, JULIO PINTO SANDIA, PAUL ROBESON, CHARLES COLLINS, HENRY A. WALLACE and VITO MARCANTONIO. 67

According to the informant ROBESON, in his speech, charged that "we have Fascism right here now. Big steel and Foley Square are the examples of it but in Peekskill 25,000 Americans stood up in defense of American democracy. The twelve CP leaders are courageous leaders of the American people."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] a dinner sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship in honor of the establishment of the Soviet State thirty-two years ago. The informant stated the dinner had been held November 10th at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

[REDACTED] stated that ANDREY VISHINSKY had been the guest of honor and that PAUL ROBESON had also been a guest at the dinner. The informant stated that ROBESON had delivered a welcome address to VISHINSKY which he had delivered in the Russian language and later in English, and that in his speech ROBESON had spoken of the "Peekskill riots, the Communist trial and the lynching of Negroes in America." ←

The "New York Sun", issue of December 3, 1949, reported that as a result of the rioting that "followed the PAUL ROBESON concert on September 4 near Peekskill, 135 persons have filed notices in the State Court of

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Claims, Albany, New York, of intention to sue the State for damages."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that ROBESON had been very active in the re-election campaign of Communist Councilman BENJAMIN DAVIS. The informant stated that ROBESON had appeared at many street meetings in Harlem during the month of October and the first week in November and that ROBESON'S speeches in general had dealt with the Peekskill riots, discrimination against Negroes and the trial of the twelve Communist leaders.

During [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, has furnished copies of letters and press releases sent out by the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders. These letters and press releases are seeking to obtain the quashing of the indictments of the twelve top Communist leaders. PAUL ROBESON is listed on the letterheads as being co-chairman of this committee. b7D

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that the Communist Party has been attempting to secure quashing of the indictments against the Communist Party leaders and that the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders is following the Communist Party's lead in this attempt.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of December 18, 1949, reported that JOHN J. HUBER of New York, admittedly a former member of the Communist Party, testified before a Senate sub-committee investigating aliens.

In this article it is reflected that HUBER, in his sworn statement, had declared that "there is no doubt in my mind that in a war involving the United States and any foreign Communistically controlled country the Communist members in the armed forces in this country would actively become foreign agents utilizing every unscrupulous means available to sabotage defense of the United States."

It was further reflected in the above article that HUBER also "named hundreds of persons who he said either were Communist Party members or participated in Communist front activities."

Under "Officials, Sponsors and Supporters of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who are Members of the Communist Party" HUBER listed PAUL ROBESON.

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LEAD

THE NEW YORK OFFICE

At New York City, will follow and report pertinent excerpts from subject's speeches in behalf of Communist Party.

Will follow and report general Communist Party activities of the subject.

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

b7c [REDACTED] The confidential informants mentioned in the report of SA [REDACTED], dated January 9, 1950, at New York, are identified as follows:

T-1 [REDACTED]

T-2 [REDACTED]

T-3 [REDACTED]

b1 T-4 [REDACTED] 1c

T-5 [REDACTED]

T-6 [REDACTED]

T-7 [REDACTED]

T-8 [REDACTED]

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 31, 1950

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, was.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bufile 100-12304

*See card UTD
2-23-50 RH*

R

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above captioned individual.

X The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

RACE _____ SEX _____ NATIVE BORN _____ NATURALIZED _____ ALIEN _____

COMMUNIST _____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY _____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE _____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM _____ TAB FOR COMSAB _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

RESIDENCE ADDRESS 3 Harold McGee

22 E 89th Street, New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) _____

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Strategic and Vital Industry List)

MAT:mat
100-25857

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DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSG/C/M

102
100-12304-185
FEB 2 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 11 1950

TELETYPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

9-1

G.I.R. 4

WASHINGTON 48 FROM NEW YORK 6 9-57 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, ISC.

REQUESTING PAUL ROBESON TO APPEAR AT DAILY WORKER RALLY IN LONDON, ON FEB. TWELVE, FIFTY. IF ROBESON HAD NO OTHER ENGAGEMENT THEY DESIRED HIS APPEARANCE INASMUCH AS FIFTEEN THOUSAND TICKETS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SOLD AND THAT THE DAILY WORKER IN LONDON WILL PAY ALL EXPENSES. WOULD CHECK WITH THE NY DAILY WORKER

TO HIS KNOWLEDGE ROBESON HAD NO OTHER ENGAGEMENT BUT THAT CLEARANCE WOULD HAVE TO BE SECURED FROM THE CP, USA. WILL ADVISE BUREAU OF ANY ADDL INFO.

SCHEIDT

RECORDED - 128

INDEXED - 128

LAST LINE LAST WD "INFO"

HOLD

52 FEB 15 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY 14918 RST/CMW
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/96

cc Mr. Fletcher

100-12304186

FEB 7 1950

34

DATE: March 7, 1950

TO: Director, FBI
FROM: SAC, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

29315

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, was.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There is herewith enclosed a book entitled, "PAUL ROBESON Citizen of the World" written by SHIRLEY GRAHAM.

This book was purchased by Confidential Informant [redacted] at the Worker's Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street, New York City on [redacted] and is being furnished for the Bureau's information.

Enc. (1)

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

RECORDED - 68
INDEXED - 68

100-12304-187

MAR 8 1950

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RJB/clw
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

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OTHERWISE

MAT:NHK
100-25857

5 MAR 17 1950
FBI
MAR 14 10 18 AM '50

SAC, NEW YORK

March 17, 1950

DIRECTOR, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

DISCERNABLE - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Rebulet 2/17/50. (u)

The following information was received from [REDACTED]
Should this material be used in a report, the source should be properly protected. (u)

"The following extract is taken from a [REDACTED] (c)

b7D

b1

(c)

In connection with this extract we would be grateful for any information available concerning [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] activities at the State Department. (u)

b7Cup

b1

(c)

We would be very grateful if you would let us know whether information happens to be available to show that [REDACTED] did in fact see Paul Robeson during the course of his recent visit to America. (u)

b7c

cc: Washington Field Office
cc: Paul Robeson
Internal Security - C
COM:San

Classified by 2658 YK/D
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

100-12304
NOT RECORDED
83 MAR 29 1950

62 APR 6 1950

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSO/dw
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/14/90

12/9/80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Any information which has come to the attention of the New York and Washington Field Office relative to the activities of the subject while he was in the United States should be submitted to the Bureau immediately. In addition, the Bureau desires any information which may be in your possession indicating contact between the subject and Paul Robeson. (u)

For the information of the Washington Field Office, the New York Office advised that the subject left the United States on January 22, 1950. (u)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*

DATE AUG 01 1977 *Am*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: March 16, 1950

FROM : SAC, St. Louis

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: ^①ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON wa.
Mrs. Paul Robeson, Sr.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Re letters to Bureau and New York dated 3-3-50 and 3-6-50 entitled "Council on African Affairs - Internal Security - C".

On [redacted] of known reliability, submitted a report to SA [redacted] dealing with Informant's attendance at a meeting held at [redacted] Centennial Christian Church, Aubert at Fountain Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri, at 8PM on 3-13-50 which was addressed by ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON under the auspices The Division of World Work of the Centennial Christian Church. b1 b7C b7

The subject of her talk was a report on the Women's International Democratic Federation Council in Moscow and Peking.

According to information furnished by [redacted] of known reliability, this meeting was afforded considerable publicity by the Communist dominated Progressive Party of Missouri, the St. Louis Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, and the St. Louis Chapter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions. b1

Informant reported that the meeting was attended by approximately 150 to 200 persons, including both negroes and whites, and that a large number of CP members were observed in this number. b1

According to the program which informant obtained at this meeting, the chairman was ONEDIA HEMPHILL with Dr. A. M. BROOKS "presiding".

Mrs. ROBESON stated that she represented the Women's International Democratic Federation Council, the African Council in the United States, and the Progressive Party. She stated at the beginning of her speech that she was not a Communist and understood very little about Communism. b1

Mrs. ROBESON told of her visit to Moscow, Russia to attend a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation Council, and she stated that there were four other delegates from the United States which number included MURIEL DRAPER, the negro whose name was LAWS and a negro named JACKSON. She stated that in Moscow the people told her that they thought that PAUL ROBESON was married to a negro, and she assured them that she had been married to him for twenty-nine years. It was noted that in this connection informant pointed out that Mrs. ROBESON is very light skinned and appears to be almost white. She stated the people in Moscow didn't know what a negro was and why she was traveling about when she should be home protecting her husband. She assured the

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CROIC/mtj
100-newded

cc: New York

51 APR 5 1950

RECORDED - 53
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
INDEXED - 53ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE

MAR 23 1950

31

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CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RJC/mtj
REASON-FCIM 1P, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

people that while some hoodlums tried to kill her husband in Peekskill, she felt certain that thousands of loyal progressive Americans would take good care of him. She assured the people that the mob in Peekskill really didn't wish to kill her husband but rather wanted to silence him, and that she pointed out that the only way this would be accomplished would be to kill him. Informant reported that applause led by ROBERT MANEWITZ, a Communist Party functionary of District 21, CP-USA, who testified at the New York trial of the eleven members of the National CP Board, followed this remark.

Mrs. ROBESON also spoke of her recent visit to China, and she stated that she and the other delegates who accompanied her wondered how they would be received in China after American bombs had been dropped from American planes killing thousands of Chinese. She pointed out that she and the other delegates were cheered wherever they went. She stated that she was unable to understand this apparent inconsistency and made inquiries on the matter and found that the answer from the Chinese people was that many people had come to China to exploit the people there while this delegation came as friends. She stated that the people's government in China had won the war and that the United States appeared rather foolish by not extending recognition to the new Chinese government. She added the prediction that this would come to pass within the next month.

She stated that the Chinese women had done a great deal for the new government and consequently they were now treated like women and not like cattle. She stated that schools were appearing throughout China and all China was learning to read. She declared that some delegates on Africa attended the conference in China. She spoke at some length on the African situation. She pointed out that delegates from both Africa and India reported that colonialism was dead and buried as the people were tired of being exploited. She stated that in India the people were being exploited by their own people just as the situation had existed in China thusly, she said, the people in India would have to liberate themselves just as the people of China are liberating themselves.

On several occasions she stated that the negro was not a citizen in the United States and therefore he cannot be called a disloyal citizen if he is not in fact a citizen. She also referred to the "Iron Curtain" on several occasions insinuating that this phrase was a piece of fiction built up in the United States.

Subject pointed out that the delegates from the United States were impressed in all the countries where they had traveled by the fact that the people were all working toward peace. She stated that in Russia they talked peace, and when there they asked them if they are not preparing for war and she stated that they were very surprised.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

She stated that everyone everywhere was interested in the negro question in the United States and she further stated that the delegates from India were most interested. She stated that she had to tell them, of course, that the negro was not a citizen and she stated that the delegates replied "Oh, your Constitution and the Bill of Rights is a wonderful thing". She stated that she admitted this but that she did not tell them that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were in mothballs in Washington most of the time and were only taken out for airings at times for such occasions as the Freedom Train.

During the open forum period, one individual inquired if it was not true that slave labor camps existed in Russia. Subject pointed out that she had a brother who is a Soviet citizen and who has lived in Russia for thirteen years, that he travels with a circus and is married to a Russian girl. She stated that he has told her that he has never seen a slave camp and has never met anyone who knew anyone who went to such a camp. She stated she was, therefore, inclined to doubt these stories appearing in the American newspapers concerning such camps in Russia.

Reverend PRINCE A. GREY, JR., Minister of the Centennial Christian Church, inquired about the status of religion in the USSR, and subject pointed out that freedom existed for all denominations in Russia, including Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. She stated that people were free to attend church or not to attend, and declared that Russia just separated the church from the business of the state.

An individual inquired if she considered colonialism and the present Russian so-called satellite states the same thing. She stated she did not because colonialism meant controlling and exploiting while a satellite was just influenced. She stated that the Eastern states of Europe were influenced by the USSR while the Western states were influenced by the United States, so she urged that all be fair about the matter and that if we discuss satellite states then all satellite states should be considered.

SAM MANEWITZ, who according to [redacted] has been a long time CP member and the father of ROBERT MANEWITZ, supra, stated that the American press conveys the idea that the USSR was persecuting the Jewish people, and he stated that he desired to know if there is any truth to this assertion. She stated that she did not know but pointed out that since the fundamental principle of socialism was non-discrimination, she doubted very much that any citizen was persecuted in the USSR because of race, color or creed. She added that many Jews hold high positions in the USSR. b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In discussing the Cardinal MINDSZENTY case, she stated that it was her first impression that it was of religious persecution and she had originally felt badly about it but pointed out that after she learned that Cardinal MINDSZENTY had owned hundreds of acres of land and had practically slave labor on his land, she knew that her first impression had been wrong. She stated that she made inquiries of some Italians about the MINDSZENTY case and they told her that they were too busy protecting their own bishops from the Communists to have much time for this case.

An individual inquired as to the great obstacle to peace and she replied "War and all this talk of war". Another individual inquired if she thought there was any chance of the United States and the USSR getting together, and she stated that she thought there was inasmuch as all have to live in the same world. Many inquiries were made concerning the A-bomb, and she stated she knew nothing about this.

Near the end of this discussion, she stated that any name calling, such as "yellow dog", "dirty Jew", "nigger" in the USSR was punishable by a fine and jail term.

[REDACTED] has also furnished a leaflet containing a biographical sketch of subject which was distributed at instant meeting which is being retained in the files of this office along with the program mentioned above. This biographical sketch is as follows:

* **ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON**

Author, Traveler, Anthropologist, Lecturer

"Born in Washington, D.C. Her father, who died when she was very young, was one of the first Negroes to graduate from Northwestern University.

"Her grandfather, Francis Lewis Cardozo, founded Avery University, the first school for Negroes in South Carolina. He was Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of South Carolina in the Reconstruction period.

"Eslanda Goode attended public schools first in Washington, then in Harlem. She took her degree in chemistry at Teachers College, Columbia University. Later she did graduate work in anthropology. She has also studied in universities in Europe and Africa.

"Miss Goode met and married Paul Robeson, law graduate, Phi Beta Kappa, and one of America's great football players and athletes. They have one son, Paul, Jr.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Mrs. Robeson is the author of articles, pamphlets and books. Her first book, "African Journey," written in connection with her studies in anthropology, was published in 1937. She also wrote a pamphlet at that time, "What Do the People of Africa Want." She is the author of "Paul Robeson, Negro," and co-author with Pearl Buck of "American Argument," published in 1948. She has written one novel, yet unpublished, and is writing another.

"Mrs. Robeson was an observer for the Congress of Women at the Asian's Women's Conference at Peking, China, recently. She took the opportunity to travel around China and find out what is happening, and why.

"Pearl Buck says of Mrs. Robeson: "Were she a lesser person, she might be smugly content, she might let sleeping dogs lie, she might say to herself that since all is well for herself and hers, she would let be.

"But Eslanda will not let herself be merely an individual. She sees in herself every Negro in the United States, every poor white in a poll-tax Southern state, every black man, woman and child in Africa, every untouchable in India, every colonial in Indonesia and Indo-China, every woman anywhere who longs for equality'.

"Mrs. Robeson is on a cross-country speaking tour which has already taken her to Youngstown, Ohio, Chicago, Ill., and Detroit, Michigan.

"A citizens' committee, aided by the Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, is planning a very intensive 10-day schedule of meetings for Mrs. Robeson in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In Oakland, Calif., her meeting is being sponsored by the California State Association of Colored Women. She will speak also in Portland, Ore., Seattle, Washington, and Madison and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

#####

3/13/50

The foregoing is offered for the information of the Bureau and the New York Division.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~100-5-70-100~~

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 17, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSAGE

To: Mr. Jack L. Neal
Associate Chief
Division of Security
Department of State
515 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*
DATE *6-10-78*

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

b7C Subject: *[Redacted]*
DISCIPLINARY - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference is made to your previous correspondence regarding the above subject.

The following additional information has been received from *[Redacted]*

b7D *[Large redacted block of text]*

cc: Paul Robeson
Internal Security - C

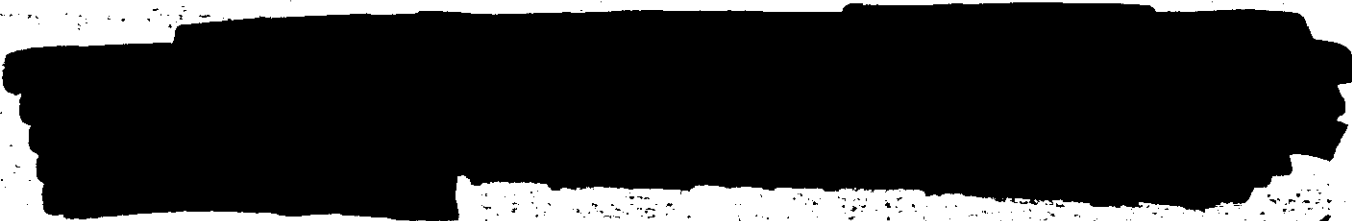

68 APR 19 1950

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MAY 16 1977

100-12804-

20 APR - 1950
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DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RAG/CH

105-9319-18

 b7D
In view of the above information, we would like to have any pertinent material available to you relative to the activities of the subject while in the United States. We would also like to know the nature of the acquaintances of the subject with and the identity of  b7C

We are conducting inquiries concerning the activities of the subject while in the United States and you will be advised of the pertinent results.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Dear Sir:

If you
know how to send
this to Mr Robeson
will you please put
the address on it,
I left it open so
you can mail it if
you think best.
100-12304-189

RECEIVED
APR 19 1950
SI-5 RSG/IM

51 APR 19 1950

I put in a couple of
the leaflets like this
I sent you and I feel
sure he is being
used by communists to
influence his race. I
wish I could get this
leaflet to every young
person and every
intelligent negro in
the U.S. If there is
any way to spread
this information let
me help. Mrs Roosevelt
is certainly red. Wish
she had some leaflets.
Would I dare send
a bunch to Trygve
Lie & have him

RECEIVED
APR 12 1950
3-5 RSC/IM

51 APR 13 1950

distribute them? I
might send to his
wife if he has one.
I will not do it if
you object, of course
Sincerely

Mar 16 2 50 PM '50
Mar 14
St Petersburg
Florida

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/IM

51 APR 19 1950

March 20, 1950

INDEXED 21

RECORDED 33

100-12304-189

Saint Petersburg, Florida

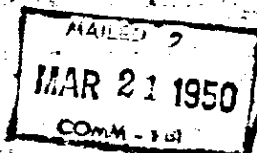
Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated March 14, 1950, with enclosure, has been received.

I appreciate very much the thoughts which prompted you to communicate with me but a policy of long standing precludes my forwarding the letter you enclosed. Likewise I am unable to offer you advice as to what distribution you should make of the leaflets you mention.

I do want to thank you for writing me and I am returning your enclosure at this time.

Sincerely yours, n



John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: The enclosure being returned consists of a letter to Paul Robeson which correspondent desired to have addressed and forwarded. The letter calls on Robeson to reject Communism and encloses two copies of a leaflet consisting of a comparison of the advantages of American and Russian citizenship. It is entitled "Do you know" and appears to be an excerpt from Forbes Magazine.

FRY:mms

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/MLL

58 APR 11 1950

Federal Bureau of
Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

March 16th., 1950.

Gentlemen:

May I offer a suggestion for curbing Reds in
this country, namely-Television-

The enclosed clipping will, no doubt, bring to
mind the cancellation of Eleanor's TV program by N.B.C.
Broadcasting co. due to the many protests against her
having as her special guest, Paul Robeson.

The Reds realize the great medium of Television,
and I think it is the patriotic duty of the Broadcasting
Stations to refuse time to anyone with Red connections.

The cries of "Free Speech" will go up of course,
but "Free Speech" to destroy American ideals should not
be permitted.

If only the F.B.I. could have a free hand, this
country would again gain the respect of the world.

Very truly yours,

Los Angeles, 5, Calif.

ENCL.
26

ack 3-22-50
FRY

RECORDED - 26

INDEXED - 26

100-12304 - 190
MAR 29 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RSC/DM

Reds in State Dept. 'Nonsense' Says Mrs. FDR

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 15.—

(AP)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt called charges of Communism in the State Department "utter and complete nonsense" in an interview here today.

Mrs. Roosevelt also was asked to comment on cancellation of her television show on which Singer Paul Robeson was to have appeared.

"I don't handle the show," she replied. "My son, Elliott, and another man do. I think probably the people who protested Mr. Robeson's appearance didn't realize that he wouldn't have had unlimited time to express his point of view."

"It was to have been a general discussion on the position of the Negro in American political life."

"The idea back of it was that any party with a large group of voters, such as Mr. Robeson's Progressive Party, should have a say."

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DATE 12/4/80 BY SP5 [signature]

ENCLOSURE

100-12309-190

March 22, 1950

105
RECORDED - 26

100-12304-190

[REDACTED]
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated March 16, 1950, with enclosure, has been received and I appreciate your letting me have your views on the subject you mentioned.

I want to thank you also for the confidence in the FBI which you expressed.

It occurred to me that you might like to read the material which I enclose.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure
How To Fight Communism

FRY:pg

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

MAR 23 1950
COMM - FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/80 BY SP-5 RSC/clw

1 APR 25 1950

RECEIVED DIRECTOR
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAR 23 10 15 AM '50

RECEIVED READING ROOM
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAR 22 4 56 PM '50

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, Detroit
SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: April 11, 1950

[REDACTED] personally appeared at the Detroit office April 5, 1950 and made available mimeographed copies of material entitled, "Inquiry on Racial Incitations Practiced by Communists" and "Inquiry Concerning Quasi-Military Forces Organized by the Communists".

[REDACTED] advised that he was employed [REDACTED] to compile this material. [REDACTED] stated that the State of New York and the Westchester Grand Jury compensated him \$200.00 per week for this material which took him six weeks to complete.

Copies of this material are also being made available to American Legion Posts in the United States through the National Americanism Commission and [REDACTED] felt that such information should also be made available to the Bureau.

There is being enclosed to the Bureau one copy of a sixteen page mimeograph paper entitled, "Inquiry on Racial Incitations Practiced by Communists," and one copy of an eighteen page mimeograph paper entitled, "Inquiry Concerning Quasi-Military Forces Organized by the Communists".

publications

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE
EX-62
Ltr to [REDACTED] at [REDACTED]
Juno 11. 7/18/50
Ltr to [REDACTED] 5-17-50
one and [REDACTED]
5-17-50
A O B: mjt

100-15889

cc: 100-10240

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5-RSC/CLM

RECORDED - 58
INDEXED - 59

100-12304-191
APR 13 1950
14

58 MAY 22 1950

140

With reference to the September 4th, 1949
Paul Robeson Demonstration at Peekskill, N.Y.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, in his press release of September 13th, 1949, directs that an inquiry be made:-

"Whether the meeting was initiated and sponsored for the purpose of deliberately inciting disorder and a breach of the peace, and whether it was part of the Communist strategy to foment racial and religious hatreds."

Paul Robeson, negro Communist leader who spearheads the international Communist drives amongst the negroes, had but a few weeks prior to the Peekskill demonstration made a widely publicized statement in Paris, France to the effect that, in case of war with Soviet Russia, the American negroes will refuse to fight for the United States. With this statement fresh in the minds of the public, the Communist High Command decided to throw their support behind this statement making Paul Robeson the principal figure at the Peekskill demonstration.

It must be stated to the credit of the American citizens of negro extraction, that all major negro organizations in the United States as well as the negro press, with few exceptions, had repudiated Robeson's Paris declaration of disloyalty and that less than a fifth of the total number of demonstrators were negroes.

On the basis of facts available in connection with the Peekskill demonstration of August 27 and September 4, 1949, plus my own experience with C. P. methods, the following appears to be the motive for this C. P. organized demonstrations:

1. To start a fresh build-up of Paul Robeson as a representative of the Negro Race, in order to emphasize his declaration made in Paris, France, that the American negroes will refuse to fight for the United States in case of war with Russia.
2. To take the offensive especially amongst the negroes, for a campaign of disloyalty to the U. S. in case of war with Russia.
3. A hostile semi-rural neighborhood within easy reach of New York was deliberately selected with a view of dramatizing alleged disloyalty of the negroes as expressed in the person of Paul Robeson clashing with the loyal white populace of the county.
4. The C. P. real organizer of the meeting, fully anticipated the antagonism of the patriotic elements of the county. They sought under the cover of free speech protection from the County authorities for their August 27 disloyal demonstration.
5. Having failed to obtain that protection at the first meeting, the C. P. mobilized all communist-controlled organizations in and around New York for the second turnout of September 4, to force the issue of unlimited free speech and to

Further emphasize the hostility between the loyal whites and Robeson's disloyal negroes.

6. The C. P. strong arm, the so-called "Security Guard", was mobilized to intimidate, beat down and disperse the loyal whites in case the authorities fail to furnish protection for the demonstration.

7. The hostility of the police authorities protecting the meeting towards "Security Guard" may have been anticipated by the C. P. high command, but they were willing to risk the mass display of the "Guard" to show its strength as well as to test the "Guard" itself under actual battle conditions.

It appears however that the eventuality of the hostility with the County populace overflowing after the meeting was not anticipated by the leaders of the Party.

The reason why the C. P. selects a theatrical extrovert type like Paul Robeson to lead off on its negro incitation program will be better understood when that program is fully explained. In short a theatrical program requires a theatrical personality.

It is necessary to keep in mind that the Communist Party is the agency of a foreign power and the question, as to whether the Communist Party blows hot or cold on any subject of policy, depends entirely upon the decisions of said foreign power.

[REDACTED] one of the political warfare colleges in Moscow, known as Lenin University. In these colleges, they teach the art of moral and physical disintegration of a nation, slated for attack. In this type of warfare which calls for putting class against class, race against race, and nation against nation, the American negro has been chosen for a special role, a role master-minded and designed by Joseph Stalin himself. If in this report on racial incitation I especially emphasize Communist racial incitation activities amongst the negroes, that is not the only field where such incitation takes place. I emphasize this part of their activities in this case, because, in this field, their racial incitation work stands out more flagrantly than any other.

The Moscow master-minds were pre-occupied ever since 1921 with the subject of what special use to make of the American negro but, up to 1928, could find nothing more original than exploiting and making use of the negroes' special grievances. It is in the Winter of 1928 that Stalin first designed the present master strategy for the American negro.

Stalin, [REDACTED] is a cold calculating strategist and was not at all concerned with the welfare of the negro as a racial group in America; what he was concerned with is how to use the negro as a possible incendiary element for subversion and, even more, how to use the negroes' special difficulties in the United States for propaganda to discredit the United States.

States amongst the other colored races in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

As can be seen from the speech Stalin made in 1929 on the American question, which is on file with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and, during the delivery [REDACTED] Stalin, even then, considered the United States as the chief antagonist to his designs for World conquest. In fact, the United States always was a major and difficult problem for the Moscow strategists. The problem was made difficult by our high standard of living, our unusual freedoms, the unbroken harmony of so many creeds and races living in the United States all of which, had created for the United States an unusual prestige and an attractive power amongst the masses of the world. The United States had no colonies to speak of, was not holding down other nations, had no rigid class or caste system, it was not imperialistic; all, of which made it difficult for Moscow to apply its usual disintegration and propaganda cliches. It took the master-minds of Moscow fifteen (15) years to find special methods of operation applicable to the United States and they are still experimenting even today.

In the Winter of 1928 [REDACTED] Manuelsky, present Soviet delegate to the United Nations, and, at that time, Stalin's head man at Communist International Headquarters in Moscow, that a new policy was being devised in reference to the American negro. The sense of that new policy was that the American Negroes were a Nation, oppressed by American imperialism; that is, they were to be imbued with the idea that they are a colonial people oppressed by a big empire and that the Communist Party of the United States should have, as one of its principal tasks, the liberation of the negro as a nation.

This liberation was to be accomplished by the formation of an independent Negro State in the so-called Black Belt of the South with its own government, its own army, its own courts, its own diplomatic service, et cetera.

The whole idea seemed to [REDACTED] Communists then residing in Moscow to be impractical [REDACTED] had never thought of the negro as a nation within a melting-pot nation like the United States but, also, [REDACTED] had been reared on Lenin's theory who definitely did not consider the American negro as a nation. According to Lenin, the following were the essential characteristics of a nation:

"... is historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a community of culture."

None of these characteristics are applicable to the American Negro, whose culture, language, economic life, etc., is entirely indistinct from the rest of the country in which he lives. The only thing that differentiates him from the rest of the American population is his racial background.

Lenin, founder of the Soviet State and chief theorist and organizer of the World Communist Movement, who had died only a few years before (1923), was then yet fresh in everybody's memory. No one could dare to reverse Lenin without risking his political neck except Stalin, and even he was careful and put the idea forward through his stooges at Communist International Headquarters so that he could "duck out" of it if need be.

In subsequent months by discussion with other Russian Communist leaders, the sense of the new strategy, to be as follows:-

- 1) by spreading nationalism amongst the negroes of the United States, to induce a feeling that they are not a part of this nation as a whole, owe no loyalty to it and should secede from it,
- 2) to use every incident of discrimination, injustice, et cetera, as a sign of oppression of this allegedly submerged negro nation to discredit the United States amongst other colored nations who, in the past or now, were struggling for independence.
- 3) to use the American negro to support, sponsor and help organize Communist sponsored Negro Nationalist Movements in Africa, the West Indies and South America.

At this point, I fear that the whole thing may sound fantastic to you as it did to me when I first heard it; hence, I will introduce, in the form of quotations, testimony from their sources.

HARRY HAYWOOD, the chief theoretician of the Communist Party on the negro question, who was in the Lenin School and who has written numerous articles and several books on this subject, all of which, were sponsored by the Communist Party, says the following:

....."This land on which you and your ancestors have slaved for centuries rightfully belongs to you. The bosses' government in this territory is a government of foreign slave drivers; it is our enemy as well as yours. We recognize and support your right to organize your own government, to elect your officials, to organize your own militia, and your unqualified right to separate from the United States....."

Pamphlet: Communist Position on the Negro question,

Article: The theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement.

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, June, 1931 p.40.

Further, on writing on the same subject, HARRY HAYWOOD, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, says as follows:-

".....If the right of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this State, there will of course remain a fairly significant White minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority."

Pamphlet: COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Article: The Theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement.

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, June 1931, P. 44

You, gentlemen, may know how much ado the Communists in this Country make about the negroes in the South being excluded from voting at primaries or elections by poll taxes and other methods and prevented in various ways from being elected to office. Now, let us see what they propose doing in the projected Negro Republic when they come into power:-

"It would not be right of self-determination, in our sense of the word, if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of self-determination only in the cases which concerned exclusively the Negroes and did not affect the Whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the Whites as well as Negroes. First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the White minority in the entire territory, of the administratively united Black Belt, exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority."

Pamphlet: COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

Article: The Theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, JUNE 1931, p. 49.

According to the Communist master-minds, there were in the late '20s about twenty-three (23) counties down South which had a negro majority. These counties cut across several States, but this did not disturb the Communist strategists, for here is what they say:-

"This means that the territory now known as the Black Belt, described above, be recognized as a distinct political unit, regardless of the State borders which, at present, cut across this territory. It means that the Negro Majority have governmental and administrative control and authority over this entire territory, with the right to set up its own governmental and judicial institutions, to elect its own officials, to make laws, to set taxes, to dispose of public property, to organize its own armed forces for the protection of these rights. It means the disbanding and removal of the armed forces, civil and military, of the White ruling class, exploiters in the Black Belt territory, It means a decisive struggle against the whole ruling class machinery, in and out of the Black Belt, which has held the Negro people in a vice of iron."

You have noted that in their Projected Negro Republic, they openly advocate supremacy over the whites and justify it on the grounds that negroes are a major there. In this Projected Negro Republic they even propose confiscation of the property of the whites and their exclusion from all government agencies, but if whites do the same thing, it is denounced as a "White Supremacy" barrier.

The Communists know, of course, that to carve pieces out of several States in order to form an independent Negro National Government would require a major upheaval in the United States in which there would be many victims, but considering the Negro as expendable that is precisely what they would like to use the negro for. Now, in order to show you that this was not only their policy in the past but it their present policy, I will quote from another of their major Negro leaders:

"The most fundamental and historic contribution of our Party in the recent period was the hammering out of a Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro question at the December, 1946, Plenum, under the theoretical guidance and leadership of Comrade Foster in particular. Our position that the Negro question in the United States is basically a National question, leading toward self-determination for the Negro Majority in the Black Belt of the South, is not only unique, but has for the first time in our Party's history been brought up to date, and put on an absolutely sound basis."

Source: POLITICAL AFFAIRS Article

By: Benjamin J. Davis

From: The Negro People's Liberation Movement -- Page 893

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, former New York City Councilman, is, as you may know, one of the leaders of the Peekskill demonstration. To show you also that Moscow has been and still is behind that policy of inciting Negroes to secede from the United States, I will quote from a Soviet publication printed in Moscow:-

"The Soviet commentator observes:- 'The cardinal problem raised in Haywood's book is that of the struggle of the American Negroes for National liberation and social and political rights. The general upsurge of the movement for national liberation has also affected the Negro population of the United States. Haywood also tells us that the American Negroes constitute a rising young nation, which like any other nation, must have the right independently to decide its own destiny. Criticizing the adherents of liberal half-measure reforms, the author advocates the complete abolition of that initial obstacle to the liberation of the Negroes, the plantation system in the South.'

"Gromov adds: 'In the concluding part of his interesting book, Haywood draws the correct conclusion that the race or national question can be wholly solved only under socialism. He cites as an example the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union and the absence of any race exceptionalism among the peoples of the fraternal Soviet Republics.'"

Source: DAILY WORKER, July 14, 1949, p.

Article: Haywood's Negro Liberation Book
Landed in USSR.

Quoting: An Article in the NEW TIMES, a
Magazine published by the
Soviet Government in USSR.

The Communists are, of course, also not disturbed by the fact that, if such Negro State were formed in the South out of the twenty-three (23) counties, it would be a sliver of a State into which the Negroes would be segregated and wedged in. Such a State could, of course, not be independent economically let alone bear the burden of supporting a separate army, police, courts, et cetera, without lowering the standard of living down to the impossible.

The value of propagating Negro Nationalism according to their calculations is that it fires the imagination of the Negro with the tinsel and pomp of government and serves the purpose of inciting disloyalty to the United States. It is an ideological warfare expedient in which the practicability of the thing itself plays no role whatsoever. The hypocrisy behind this whole project can best be understood in the practices of the Soviet Government on its own territory, where all the different component nations and races of Soviet Russia have been completely deprived any independence whatsoever and absorbed in the super-centralized government machine operated from Moscow. Those nationalities or racial groups, in Russia, that have displeased the Central Government, like the Germans in the Volga or the Karelians on the Finnish border and others in Northern Caucasasia, have been rounded up in the totality and deported and dispersed into the far reaches of Siberia. In these cases like in many others, the political warfare Command in Moscow goes on the basis of "Don't do as I do, do as I say."

I assume that the Communist master-minds also know that, since the late '20s the social composition of the Black Belt has changed considerably. Cotton farming has been mechanized and many Negroes moved out of the rural counties up into the North and into the growing industrial centers of the South; so that, whatever pretense may have existed in the late '20s, as a territorial base for such a Negro Republic has been disappearing; in other words, the United States, as a "melting-pot" nation, has been absorbing the Negro and integrating him into the total fabric of the nation. But that too had no effect on the master minds of this plan, for this plan is conceived on the basis of the ends it is to serve, not on the basis of facts per se.

If I dwell at length on their master plan for the fourteen million (14,000,000) Negroes of the United States; it is to give you an idea how extreme that plan is and that it takes plenty of racial incitation to attempt to realize it.

Because of this plan, the Negro Communists, like Robeson, are amongst the most

incendiary of all their leaders and amongst the most reckless of them all is Paul Robeson himself. Thus, at a mobilization meeting at the Golden Gate Ballroom, prior to the Peekskill demonstration, Robeson declared:-

"This marks the turning point. From now on, we take the offensive, and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting..."

Commenting on the Westchester authorities lack of protection for the "Concert-goers,"

Robeson declared:

"The surest way to get protection is to show them that from now on we are going to protect ourselves!"

Preceding Paul Robeson, as a speaker at this meeting, was Benjamin J. Davis.

Davis declared:-

"We want all the 'flunkies' of Wall Street, whether they wear white sheets or black robes like Judge Medina, to know that we are a peace-loving people, but we are not pacifists and we are going to stand up toe to toe and slug it out".

Source: DAILY WORKER

Date: September 1, 1949 - p. 9.

There will be several former Negro Communist leaders and others that had suffered from the Communists who will testify to the incendiarian of their methods including the type of literature they distributed in Harlem in preparation for the Peekskill demonstration; hence, I will confine myself to give you just the general view of their day to day methods and organization amongst the Negroes.

In the late '20s the Communists created 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights'. This organization was originally created merely to exploit Negro grievances but after Stalin's master plan came into effect in the early '30s, a new organization was created known as the 'Negro Labor Congress' into which 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights' was merged. The reason for liquidating 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights' was that it contained elements who resisted the new Negro nationalism policy imposed by Moscow.

'The Negro Labor Congress' started right off with a Nationalist Program and was designed to appeal primarily to Negro workers. The design of the new organization also fitted in more closely into the pattern of using Negro labor for Communist Labor Union infiltration in the big industries.

In the middle '30s, a new Negro front organization was created known as the 'National Negro Congress' into which the 'Negro Labor Congress' was merged. The reason for the creation of the 'National Negro Congress' was a sharp swing of Moscow foreign policy towards appeasement of the democracies, a policy generally known as the "Popular Front" (1934-1935). During that period, Moscow sought to curry favor with the democracies as a means of exerting pressure against rising Nazi Germany. Negro Nationalism, during this period was not abandoned but merely soft-pedalled so as to make it possible to attract large numbers of non-Communist Negroes, the

Negro middle class and the Negro intelligentsia.

In the middle '40s the Communists infiltrated and captured a Negro organization known as the 'Council on African Affairs', the former president of which, a man of unusual ability, appeared before you. The 'Council on African Affairs', of which Paul Robeson is now president, is designed to link up the Negro Nationalist Movements, fostered by the Communists in Africa and the Americas; it is Moscow's direct tool in this field and accounts for much of Paul Robeson's international "activities" as well as his many trips to Moscow.

You may have noticed from this account of Communist created Negro fronts with appealing names that deception is a standard practice with Communists. Communist created fronts come and go like worn out suits. They are discarded and new styles are created. This is done on a national and even an international scale as well as on a local scale, like the 'Westchester Committee for a Fair Inquiry'. Fairness, of course, has nothing to do with it. The creation of this type of front is a means for attracting "suckers" for alleged causes and making suitable use of them with Communists as "stage managers" behind the scenes.

Deception, of course, is standard practice. Also, by the demand or "bait" put out by this type of front organizations to attract "suckers" for various allegedly worthy causes. It helps these organizations to publicize themselves and suck the masses into motion.

The Communist Party is on a continuous hunt for incidents, issues and causes. If there are none, they must be created. Amongst Negroes, even more than amongst others, there are usually plenty of issues to incite and to fight about. There is, for instance, the issue of segregation which the Communists have magnified to the nth degree. The Party will pick a strategic case in a suitable neighborhood, put up picket lines, demonstrations and even create a riot if it serves their purposes or there may be a restaurant or cafeteria which does not want to serve Negro customers. Picket lines will be formed, the windows may be smashed and a big issue created; or there may be an employer, who for sundry reasons, may not want to employ Negroes or, in the opinion of the Communist Party, does not employ enough of them or does not employ them in highly skilled occupations. If nothing handier is available, the Communist Party will pick on that or, as in the case of Peekskill, they will insist on holding a demonstration in a neighborhood intensely hostile to them. There are cases where factories employ Negroes in occupations that have no seniority ratings. The Communist Party will demand not only seniority but preferred seniority ratings for Negroes. A quotation from their sources may perhaps illustrate the point:-

"The central question is the retroactive granting of the right of job seniority to Negro Workers. Without this, all other measures will be incomplete. Consider-

tion should be given in local unions or by an entire international union, to granting all Negro workers an automatic accumulation of an agreed-upon number of years' seniority (say, ten years) and then applying seniority equally to all thereafter."

Article: DEFEND AND EXTEND RIGHTS OF
NEGRO WORKERS,

By: John Williamson

From: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, June 1949
p. 33.

That many of these or similar grievances exist is, of course, nothing new. They have been fought over by bonafide Negro organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League and others long before the Communists came upon the scene and continue to be. What is new is that this alleged friend of the Negroes, the Communist Party, is avowedly not a reformist organization, they do not seek reform for reform sake, they merely play with reform as a "means to an end". They use reform in order to sell their other poisonous wares and create incidents for racial incitation, as the following quotation taken out of their sources may indicate:-

"The terrible truth which every American must face is that the government of the United States, in all its ramifications and culture, rests upon the 'white supremacy' system. The K.K.K. expresses this cannibalism only in the more vulgar and more violent forms; but, there is not a single Congressman, Senator, Judge, State Department official, police officer, or responsible executive in any branch of the State who is not enmeshed in, who does not give support to, or is not tactily adjusted to the 'white supremacy' philosophy of the Ku Klux Klan. The two-party system is an open bulwark of the 'white supremacy' horror."

Source: DAILY WORKER, June 19, 1949

Article: "Communism is the Deadly Enemy
of 'White Supremacy'"

By: Milton Howard

According to this statement, every white man or official except the Communists, of course, is an enemy of the Negro and must be suspected and fought.

Of great importance in the racial incitation program are Negro Court cases, that lend themselves to racial incitation. For instance, one or more Negroes may be arrested for murder, rape or robbery. There are hundreds of these cases amongst the 'Whites' as well but, if it concerns Negroes, the Communists often pick up these cases for their purposes. The arrests may have been made on prejudice or on insufficient evidence, as sometimes is the case, or the charge may be wholly true but, if it serves the strategic purposes of the Party, at the time, the Party will charge it to be a frame-up, true or false, long before the trial comes up and especially if the case comes up down South. The Negroes involved may be as guilty as "hell", just as the eleven (11) tried before Judge Medina were but, if the Communist machine gets a hold of it, they will be painted as innocent victims of a frame-up, a legal lynching. Southern justice will be painted in the blackest colors and, as

the Negroes out of some of their past experiences have reason to be suspicious, such cases have a tremendous emotional appeal throughout the Negro community. If the men involved are actually not guilty, Communist propaganda in the community and around the Courthouse, plus the behavior of Communist defense attorneys in Court, may arouse passions to such an extent as to produce a guilty verdict anyway. So much better for the Communists. The case will become a "cause celebre" made to order for their propaganda mills. Now such a type of a case is actually worked, you may hear if you will from a witness, a former Party leader, who was involved in the famous Scottsboro case of years ago. The Scottsboro case is an old one which attracted tremendous national attention. It may serve the purpose of illustrating their incitation techniques which, if anything, have become even more unscrupulous over the years.

The following quotation, out of Lenin's collected works, illustrates their over-all practice in all fields:-

"We have to use any ruse, dodge, trick, cunning, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of the truth. . . . As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph---a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republics or over world capitalism . . . but until this takes place the principal role is to dodge and maneuver."

Communists racial incitation methods are as deceitful and indirect as many of their other practices and for that reason are rather felt than understood. Contrary to the Nazis, who berated the Jews and Negroes as inferior races, the Communists come to them like Greeks bearing gifts. They pretend to be solicit^{ous} of their welfare and promise them, as minorities, privileges that even the majority does not enjoy. The Communists, for instance, demand that Negroes just because they are Negroes be placed on Governing Boards of labor unions, Government Agencies, Municipal Councils, State Boards, et cetera. They even advocate that Negro populated parts of our cities be constituted as autonomous or semi-autonomous municipalities with their own mayors, police, magistrates, et cetera, but that the city, as a whole, defray the expenses. This, of course, conforms to their concepts that the Negroes are a nation and, therefore, are entitled to be treated as partners instead of as mere citizens. The result of all this sort of agitation is to incite the minority against the majority; the exact reverse of the Nazis, who called upon the majority to either exterminate a racial minority, like the Jews, or as in the case of a religious minority, like the Catholics, deprive them of their rights.

In a condition where there is a latent distrust or hatred between races, Communist incitation can and has fanned such distrust into race riots by inducing provocative arrogance on the part of a minority well knowing that the majority will not tolerate it. Now important they consider the incitation of the Negro against whites may be seen from the following:

"The Negro question remains, politically, the Achilles heel of U. S. Imperialism; and the liberation movement of the Negro people is reaching new heights of consciousness and unity, representing a mighty anti-imperialist force."

Article: "SPECIFIC FEATURES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST EXPANSION"

Source: Political Affairs - Aug. 1948
p. 684

By: William Z. Foster

Quoted in an article by Benjamin J. Davis entitled, "The Negro Peoples Liberation Movement" -- Source: Political Affairs - p. 880

Incitation of racial minorities fits, of course, into the general pattern of Communist operations which is designed to exploit the grievances of the most discontented segments of the population, especially those who have special grievances like the Negroes.

The Communists always make a great ado if any of their rioters are arrested or injured by those whom they have provoked but, what they would do if they had the power is perhaps best illustrated by a statement of Paul Robeson made to a Swedish pro-Communist newspaper while he was in Europe; a statement which has been reprinted in the Daily Worker. In this statement, Robeson alleges that there is a tremendous resistance and deep feeling amongst the Negro peoples in the United States:-
The interview is in a question and answer form:

Question: "Have you any personal experience confirming this resistance?"

Mr. Robeson: "There are numerous examples from the recent election campaign of Negroes protecting Wallace people from the Klu Klux Klan. I, myself, was to speak in a town in the South when word came through that the police planned to shoot me down on my arrival. The result was that the police received series of warnings to the effect if anything happened to me, nothing much would be left of that town within 24 hours. I have never felt so safe in all my life throughout my stay in that town. I was surrounded by a heavily armed bodyguard of regular police. Oh, yes, the Negro population is much more progressive than some of their leaders".

Source: The Sunday Worker - June 5, 1949
P. 1 - Section 2.

I, of course, do not believe a word of what Robeson says as to the incident he alleges to have taken place, but it is an indication of what Robeson would like to do if he had the power. According to this statement, Paul Robeson would not be satisfied with a few of his enemies being merely manhandled. He would wipe out the whole town in which the incident took place just like the Nazis have done at Lidice, Czechoslovakia, which they have levelled to the ground because of the assassin of one of their deputy leaders was allowed to hide there.

Allow me to quote one more statement of Paul Robeson, made to the same Swedish newspaper; a statement in which Robeson again tells lies out of "whole cloth". 15

I quote:-

"Robeson declared that the Negro people in the United States, Africa and the West Indies are becoming so aroused over the denials of even basic freedom that the rule of White Bourbon Capitalism will be short-lived."

Source: DAILY WORKER, Oct. 5, 1949, p. 3.

Robeson, of course, knows perfectly well that, if the basic freedoms would not exist in the United States, the likes of him would not be tolerated at all let alone being allowed to tell his lies all over the United States.

THE JEWS

If I have dwelt at length on Communist activities amongst Negroes, it is because Moscow has a primary interest in inciting them and the Communist Party does racial incitation work in this field as it were "on the double".

Second, in importance, in the racial incitation politics of the Communist Party, are the Jews. There was a time, in fact, when they were first but in the last fifteen (15) years the Jews have receded in the total weight of Communist activities, partly due to the special interest that Moscow has in the Negroes and also because the Jews, more experienced in things of ideology and politics, are beginning to see through the trickery of the Communist High Command in Moscow. An additional factor, of late, has been the suppression of Jewish organizations in Soviet satellite countries and in Russia itself. Nevertheless, in the New York City area, in Los Angeles and Chicago the Communists still have considerable organization amongst the Jews, including a daily paper, "The Freiheit", but even in these cities they represent less than ten (10) percent of the Jewry and there is, right among the Jews, a lively intelligent and active opposition against them, as a number of witnesses ready to appear can attest.

The Communists have played around with Jewish nationalism off and on also, but their main stalking "horse" amongst the Jews has been the issue of Anti-Semitism which they have exploited to the 'nth degree. Since the inauguration by Hitler of Genocide as a State policy, the result of which was the butchery of millions of Jews in Europe, the Jews have lived in a nightmareish fear that something similar might happen here; a fear heavily promoted by Communist Propaganda. Whatever anti-semitic groups spring up in this country no matter how small, like the Gerald K. Smith, "America Firsters" and others, they were always given a major build-up in Communist fear-propaganda, the main edge of which was directed at the Catholic Church which has been a primary target of the Moscow High Command for the past thirty (30) years.

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The largest Communist controlled Jewish organization in the New York area is the 'Jewish Peoples Order', Jewish Language Section of the 'International Workers Order', a Communist fraternal and insurance society of about one-hundred-sixty-thousand (160,000) members. The 'I.W.O.' is, in fact, the Communist Party's central net-work amongst the various foreign language groups in this country. The Jewish Section is the largest affiliate. A large part of the demonstrators imported into Peekskill for the Robeson demonstration were members of 'I.W.O.'.

Next, in importance, in the Jewish Communist following, are party-controlled labor unions with a large Jewish membership, like the Furriers and other Jewish unions with Communist organization inside of them, like the Painters, the Needle Trades, some of the Food Trades, et cetera.

The mere fact that there were far more Jews than Negroes at the Peekskill demonstration should not mislead you as to the relative importance of these two groups in the Communist set-up. It simply means that amongst the Jews, the Communists have long established solid organizations in the New York area with a daily paper to drum up the crowd, and that the bulk of that paper's circulation happens to be in the New York area; whereas, amongst the Negroes their organization is young, far less solid and there is no daily Negro paper under their control to mobilize a big crowd in one week's time.

Amongst the witnesses ready to testify is a former vice-president of the I.W.O. whom you can ask any question in reference to that organization.

If one were to estimate the racial or national background of the Communist demonstrators at Peekskill in the order of their numerical importance, the following approximately would be the results:

1. Jews 8000
2. Slavic Groups. . . 3000
3. Negroes 2000
4. Latins & Italians. 1000
5. Anglo-Saxons . . . 1000

THE SLAV CONGRESS

The Slav Congress is one of the newcomers amongst the Large Communist fronts. It has been formed at the close of World War II and constitutes an effort by the Communists to combine all Slavic nationalities; such as, the Russian Ukrainians, Poles Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, et cetera, into one pro-Russian organization. Its aim is by exploiting the racial backgrounds of these peoples and fostering a pro-Russian attitude to alienate their loyalty to the United States and transfer it to Russia.

The Slavic Group was the second largest at the Peekskill demonstration.

Study of its specific methods of pro-Russian propaganda amongst the Slavs would require a staff familiar with foreign languages.

Suffice it to say that, at this time, the Slav Congress is one of the important groups spreading racial dissension in the interest of Russia in the United States.

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RELIGIOUS DISSENSION

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Except for the continuous barrage of attacks against the Catholic Church and against "Clerical reactionaries" of other denominations, no religious incitation was manifested in Communist preparations for the September 4th demonstration at Peekskill.

Inasmuch as religious incitation does form an important part of Communist activities, I will deal with it briefly.

There was a time that the Communists confined themselves to straight atheistic anti-religious propaganda aimed mainly at the Roman and Greek Orthodox Catholic churches. This, however, was not very effective; hence, in the last fourteen (14) years under a plan also personally devised by Joseph Stalin in 1923, they have gone into the business of infiltrating the various church denominations with alleged liberal and progressive ideas about religion. To carry that plan through, the Atheists have to pretend to be religious. As fantastic as this may seem, it is not inconsistent with Communist behavior that - "all means are justified if they serve the end."

On the basis of this plan, they infiltrated the 'Methodist Federation of Social Service' and captured it and used it for their purposes. They also set up an 'Institute of Applied Religion' to infiltrate; especially, Negro Baptist churches. Their infiltration produced a crisis in at least one of the more liberal Protestant denominations, known as Unitarian Universalists, where the Editor of the Church Journal was found to be a Communist. They also captured one of the extra-curricular Protestant Journals, known as the "Protestant Digest", edited by Kenneth Lealie now known as the "Protestant", and used it to belabor the Protestant Ministry of the various denominations with their allegedly "liberal" ideas. Working in concert in these various Protestant denominations, they infiltrated the Federal Council of Churches but came far short of their objective when, in the last two (2) years, the Protestant Ministry finally awoke to their counterfeit liberalism and moved away from them. But, there was a time when they had as many as twelve-hundred (1,200) Ministers and several Bishops of the Protestant denominations in their various religious fronts and ventures. Their influence, in these Protestant denominations, was used mainly to deepen the schism between the Protestants and Catholics. Their influence amongst the Rabbinate of the Jewish faith was used for the same purpose.

The chief engineers of this type of Communist front were:-

HARRY F. WARD, Professor Emeritus of Religion

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Institute of Applied Religion

KENNETH LESLIE, Editor of the Protestant Digest

JACK McMICHAEL, Methodist Federation for Social Service

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INQUIRY CONCERNING QUASI-MILITARY
FORCES ORGANIZED BY THE COMMUNISTS

In connection with the Robeson Peekskill demonstration organized by the Communist Party in the Peekskill area, Honorable Thomas E. Dewey issued, on September 14, 1949, a directive which seeks to determine:

1. Whether the Communist led "guard" forces displayed at the Peekskill demonstration were a quasi-military force.
2. Whether the demonstration was a part of the Communist strategy to foment racial and religious hatreds.
3. Whether the meeting was initiated and sponsored for the purpose of deliberately inciting disorder and a breach of peace.

This report will deal with this subject in the order named above.

* * *

On the basis of information assembled from various sources which will be named as this testimony proceeds and on the basis of my own experience with this type of organization, I will start with and deal chiefly with the question as to whether the Communist Party is committed to the organization of a quasi-military force as an integral part of its program and activity.

As the Governor correctly states, there were present at the Robeson Peekskill demonstration, a corps of guards.-- "in addition, pro-Communist forces brought with them some 2,500 men whom they called 'security guards'. This force of 'guards' was military in character, operation, formation and discipline. They were equipped with weapons which, while not prohibited by law, such as baseball bats, can openers, stones and cans of black and red pepper. Such weapons in the hands of an organized group, could be formidable and even deadly."

The Daily Worker of September 5, 1949 says the following about the "security guard":

"A few feet within the grounds the young veterans among the concert goers stood shoulder to shoulder along the 1,500 yard length. Groups of them stood at various hilltops and other points of vantage." - page 3.

According to the Daily Worker of Sept. 12, 1949, page 4, "the 'security guard' consisted of 3,500 men." That such a guard was present at the grounds of the Robeson meeting is, of course, obvious from the numerous photographs taken, the comments of the Daily Worker and the testimony of numerous persons of various callings who were present. That the "security guard" came there with the purpose of engaging in combat can be reasonably assumed from the nature of the equipment taken away from them by the police, such as baseball bats, can openers and black pepper.

The Communist Party leaders, in their various statements made through Communist members and otherwise, of course, claim that the "security guard" was there purely for defensive purposes; that is, to defend the meeting against hostile crowds and demonstrators. As will be seen from what follows, it is customary for the Communists, when engaging in offensive action, to claim that they are merely defending themselves; and thus, in the name of defense, they once more, in connection with the Peekskill demonstration, arrogated to themselves a police function.

This pretense of defense is perhaps best illustrated by the following quotation which relates to the creation of so-called defense corps organizations:

"These organizations are purely defensive in name-to prove to the working masses the necessity of such defensive organizations is easier than to get them into offensive organizations."

"But, here, we meet with the opposition of the reformers. They are against such workers' 'defense groups' because, on some fine day these 'defense groups' may turn to attack. If the workers were armed, class logic pushes them ahead for the old strategic rule says, 'the best method of defense is attack'". WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT by A. Lesovsky, p. 104-5. Published by The Trade Union Education League, Chicago, Illinois.

At present I want to deal with the question as to what, in the concept and program of the Communist Party, constitutes a "quasi-military organization". As already indicated by my answers to previous questions, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] acquired a knowledge both of the planning of this type of organization and how these plans work out in practice.

The Communist display of an alleged "security guard" at Peekskill is the largest display of this type of organization that the Communists have made in the United States thus far. That they dared to display it in such numbers and at this time is in itself remarkable, but before I proceed any further on the subject of this "security guard", allow me to give you a brief resume of what is thought on this subject at the political warfare colleges in Moscow.

Testimony from their own sources substantiate what I have said.

"To the counter-revolutionary bourgeois armed forces, the proletariat can only oppose its own revolutionary forces."

If one acknowledges the necessity of revolutionary force, one is compelled to acknowledge the consequence of a revolutionary force, the formation and maintenance of a Red Army, which is the efficient and most technical expression of the revolutionary force.....THE FORM OF THE RED ARMY IS MORE A QUESTION OF TECHNIQUE THAN OF PRINCIPLE, THE MAIN THING IS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE...."

This is accomplished by the setting up of a bogey. Once a bogey is established, their action in fighting against it is justified.

The organizations of strike-breakers and out-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now acquired a leading organ

in the so-called "American Legion", made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war."

to combat what they consider a quasi-military organization like the Legion, their method is

"to create their own workers legions and militant organizations which would resist the fascists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will break them of the strike-breaking habit.

"In view of the extra-ordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question, organizing a thorough-going educational and communication service (by this they mean espionage -- author's note) which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenals, the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties, and work out all the necessary details of defense and counter-attack."

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, July 1922

"Thanks to the physical education obtained by them in the workers' sport and athletic organizations, the red athletes and sportsmen will form a hardened kernel of the proletarian defense organizations. The workers' sport and athletic organizations as such must put all their strength into the service of the defense struggle."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Pub. by the Executive Committee of the I.C.Y. p 93. Printed in Sweden, 1924

Part of the the three-year training course in Moscow is a three-month training in the various arts of insurrection and the creation of insurrectionary organizations which deals specifically with the subject of how to organize insurrectionary forces in the various stages of their development. The pre-requisite of organizing such forces is, of course, the existence of a Communist Party. The insurrectionary force in its preliminary stages, is to serve as a civilian combat force or "goon" organization; and later on as the military arm of the Communist Party. No Government, if it has any sense, would allow such an organization to exist in any overt form. Such a force, therefore, has to be organized under various camouflages. The "security guard" display at Peekskill is an organization of this type in a relatively early stage of development.

The camouflages used may be an athletic club, sports club, hunting lodge, veterans' club or a self-defense club. Another form of this type of organization, is the "goon" squads of Communist controlled unions, often called Organization or Action Committees, composed of indoctrinated fanatics which the Communist Party uses for many varied purposes, and there are other forms.

As you will see from further testimony to be presented, all of these or similar types of organizations are organized or sponsored by the Communist Party and its auxiliaries were present at the Robeson Peekskill demonstration just as they were at previous large Communist demonstrations such as May Days and other occasions, except unlike the one at Peekskill, they did not appear and display themselves in one single formation as a "security guard".

All these innocent looking "clubs", "leagues", "lodges", "action committees", etc.

veterans are tied together by a secret committee of Military Affairs of the Communist Party; of which, you will also hear testimony by a former member of such a secret committee.

"A political party is not the same thing as a military army. While a military command begins a war with an army ready at its hand, the Party has to create its Army in the course of the struggle itself, in the course of class conflicts."

SOURCE: J. V. STALIN, The October Revolution, p. 114.

Published in The Communist International - No. 12 - 1940 p. 882.

I further quote from an official decision of the Communist International:

"The Communist organizer must look upon every member of the Party....as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason, he must allot him a place in the Party which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present Party work, and not mere drilling which the political worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist's best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle. SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, p. 114.

The military "cement" in all types of Communist-sponsored combat organizations is made up of war veterans and ex-service men who impart their knowledge to the others and, as a rule, are leading spirits in this type of organization. Those with Civil War experience, like the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, recruited illegally in the United States for intervention in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1938, are considered of special value for this purpose. All war veterans and ex-service men are specially listed for their military qualifications.

In order to keep this type of organization properly conditioned during peacetime, they are used as assault groups during strikes, as "guards" at demonstrations like the ones at Peekskill. They are used for disruption of opponents' meetings or to capture opponents' headquarters, like the recent attack on the headquarters of the National Maritime Union and for many other similar purposes. In connection with this type of "goon" activity on the part of this sort of organization, there is plenty of detailed testimony ready for presentation.

The following quotations from Communist sources will show that this type of fighting is an integral part of Communist activity:

"Under 'direct action', we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State; boycotts, strikes, street demonstrations, seizure of factories, armed uprising and other revolutionary activity which tends to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism."

SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD WORLD CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL - p. 143. Published by Contemporary Publishing Association, New York, N.Y.

How Peekskill and other demonstrations fit into the pattern:

"The fundamental means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie, that is, its state power, is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the mass organizations of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat

must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight."

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Moscow, 1920.
Issued by the Communist Party of America, 1920, p. 43.

Much of the military training for the members of this type of groups the Communists expect the Government itself to supply, as the following quotation will show:

"Citizen guard organizations, the Army, rifle clubs, et cetera, should be utilized for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must be directed not against the military training of the youth and the workers, but against the militaristic regime and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons are most carefully taken advantage of."

SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD WORLD CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, p. 92. Published by Contemporary Publishing Association, New York, N.Y.

The quasi-military organization of an insurrectionary type does not grow overnight; it takes years and the formation of such an organization usually goes through various stages of development. In its embryonic stages, this type of organization can easily be camouflaged and it takes an alert Government and people to see through such camouflage.

"The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia - a militia of the sailors, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerrilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organization of the Soviet Government, i.e., it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS. Resolution of the 6th World Congress of the C.I., 1938. Published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, N.Y. 2nd Edition, July 1934 p. 47-48.

Stages in the development of quasi-military organizations:

1. The so-called "defense organization" stage. Sport clubs, veterans clubs or veterans organizations, hunting clubs, self-defense clubs or leagues, physical culture clubs, hike clubs, etc., secret clubs, goon squads known as action committees, organization committees, entertainment committees, etc.
 2. Formation of Insurrectionary Force in the form of select combat squads of a commando type, also known as detachments, guerrillas, etc. The secret arming of these groups. Detailed instruction in insurrectionary techniques. Planning of the insurrection. This force is recruited from the "defense organizations" mentioned in Point 1.
 3. In case the insurrection succeeds, the formation of semi-army type of organization generally known as Militia or Red Guard, into which all members of organizations mentioned in Part 1 are enrolled
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plus general arming of all Communists and their followers.

4. Formation of a "Popular Red Army" or "Peoples Army" as they now call it, into which the Militia, plus "Popular Military Formations" that have gone over to the insurrectionists may be incorporated.

The different stages can be better seen in countries which have large Communist Parties, like the ones in France and Italy, where large quasi-military organizations in advanced stages of development exist and where these organizations have already accumulated large stocks of armaments, some of which have recently been seized by the authorities of these countries; and the final stage of this type of organization can be seen in China, where their quasi-military combat and guerilla organizations have grown into a full sized Red Army about to complete the conquest of the whole country.

Czechoslovakia, too, is an illustration of what role this type of organization can play when the Communists are ready to seize power.

When Governor Dewey took note of the "security guard" as the unusual feature of the Communist demonstration at the Peekskill Robeson "concert", he pointed to something more significant than appears on the surface; he pointed, in fact, to an insurrectionary organization in the making.

Allow me now to proceed more specifically on what is thought on this subject in the military classes in Moscow. I must say, at the outset, that there is very little testimony available in the form of publications on what I am about to tell you because all literature used in this type of classes must be returned after they are used. None is allowed to be taken out of Russia.

"....Instructions on concrete organizational questions regarding preparation for underground conditions must be given only verbally and only by absolutely tried and trustworthy people. Only in extreme cases should instructions be given in writing and these should contain only the most general instructions and should be written in such a manner as to give the police no clue as to whom to look for and where to find them if the instructions do fall into their hands."....

SOURCE: Article: Revolutionary Underground Work.
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Vol. II, Nos. 10-11-12 July 1, 1932
p. 341 Special Edition for U.S.A. Pub. by Workers Library
Publishers, N.Y.C.

The discussion on insurrection that one does find in available Communist literature is largely misleading. According to available literature, an insurrection is a matter of big strikes, mass demonstrations in which the masses put up barricades, storm Government offices and fight with troops, or else fraternize with the troops in order to win them over to the side of the insurrectionists. The closest quotation as to the actual techniques taught in the military colleges that I can find is one from Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, and theorist and organizer of the Communist movement:

"The third great lesson provided by the Moscow uprising refers to attacks and the organization of forces for the uprising. Military attacks depend on the level of military techniques - ... Military technique, now, is not the same as it was in the middle of the 19th Century. It would be folly for crowds to contend against artillery and defend barricades with revolvers. Kautsky was right when he wrote that Moscow had inaugurated new 'barricade tactics'. These tactics were the tactics of guerilla warfare. The organization which such tactics demand is that of ten men, three men or two men detachments..... Study carefully the story of the Moscow uprising, gentlemen, and you will understand what connection exists between 'five men detachments' and the question of 'new barricade tactics'."

SOURCE: THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 by V. I. Lenin, p. 36. New York, New York, International Publishers.

You should take note, as I go along making these quotations, the Communists always speak in their written material about the workers, which they call the Proletariat. The workers are expected or charged with doing this or that. They do not, of course, expect the workers to scheme up insurrectionary techniques or organizations to carry through an insurrection. Lenin himself, again and again says that the workers are incapable of that much know how on this subject. When they speak in this connection about the workers, that is just the usual Aesopian language which they use to avoid speaking in the first person. What they actually mean is that the Communist Party organizes all these things.

Now to the actual method of insurrectionary fighting as taught in the Moscow colleges. As Lenin indicates in the quotation I just made, the popular notion of insurrections of the past is not at all what the Communist-organized insurrections are based on. The Communists base their insurrection organization on numerous tiny little guerilla groups of a Commando type which attack their selected objectives by calculated deceit and utter surprise.

It may seem fantastic to you if I say that on the basis of the insurrection techniques taught in Moscow, a city like New York could be seized from the inside by a force of less than 10,000 men organized in the fashion that I will indicate; and, if the Army is disaffected, as the Russian Army was at the time of the Communist seizure of power in Russia, such a city could be held and the new Government, based upon the insurrection, could consolidate itself.

The Communist Party membership in New York State as of 1946 was 24,697 members, nearly two thirds of whom live within the New York City area. Only 20% of the Party membership are as a rule considered fit to be included into a combat type of organization. The number present in the Security Guard formation corresponds to approximately this percentage.

Petrograd, former Capital of Russia, now known as Leningrad, with the Government having 50,000 troops plus police at its disposal, was actually taken and held by 7,200 men thusly organized. Hamburg, a city of 1,500,000 people, was taken in 1923 and held for two days by 1,800 men organized according to these methods;

and Riga, Capital of Latvia, a city of 500,000 inhabitants, with the Government having 15,000 troops and police at its disposal, was almost taken in 1924 by only 300 men using these techniques.

In Bogota, Capital of Columbia, a small force of Communists staged an insurrection on April 9th, 1948, and with less than 2000 so organized, held the city for about a week. By the time they were ousted by troops coming from outlying districts, the Capital looked as if a heavy bombardment squadron had gone over it.

Each of the above-named insurrections was different as to detail but, in the main, they conformed to the following pattern:

1. The seizure of power-houses and all communication centers, such as telephone exchanges, telegraph and radio stations, etc. This has as its object the paralysis of the Government machine.
2. Seizure of all transport terminals to paralyze all traffic to and from the city; this may include the derailling of trains 50 to 80 miles out of the city or the disabling of airports, disabling of bridges and the creation of other road blocks to impede Government reinforcements from quickly reaching the city while the insurgent force is at work.
3. Seizure of key Government buildings, like the central police headquarters, City Hall, National Guard armories and other command spots to impede or paralyze quick retaliation on the part of the Government and further paralyze the Government machine.
4. The arrest, early in the morning, of the principal personalities of the Government and forcing them at gun point to declare immediate support of the new Government or to be executed immediately. This is intended to further spread the paralysis of the Government and its armed forces.
5. The seized radio is immediately utilized to build up morale on the side of the insurrectionists and to demoralize resistance to them. The principal newspapers are seized at the same time and used for the same purpose.

The whole job is done early in the morning when the Government least expects it, usually between 4:00 and 5:30 A.M. That is the time when the various objectives they expect to seize are held very lightly, and surprise, therefore, is most effective.

All objectives are thoroughly cased before-hand. There are many trial mobilizations of the combat or guerilla groups before the zero hour mobilization takes place, and many false alarms and rumors are spread for days and weeks to wear out

the Government's vigilance, but when the hour for mobilization does take place, the most extreme precautions are taken to prevent a leak of information to the Government. The "Commandos" assemble in small groups at the homes of their members and are instructed not to allow anyone to leave the room once they get there, or approach a window to give a signal, or reach for a telephone or even go unaccompanied to the bath-room.

When the hour for action strikes, each group goes with its armaments hidden as inconspicuously as possible to its previously selected objective. It is the surprise that strikes terror more than anything else.

Only after the principal objectives are taken are the seized radio stations utilized to mobilize the rest of the Communist organization and to call out the masses. When the insurrection is planned on a large scale and is no mere trial run, it takes place simultaneously in all the principal cities where the Communists have sufficient organization.

Operating by this method, it takes but a small force to seize an objective. Railway terminals, at that hour, may be seized by only five guerilla groups of five men each, operating as a team. A bus terminal may be seized by one to three groups. The key spots at New York City Police Headquarters may require fifteen or more groups, formed into several teams, etc., etc.

Combat formations are part of the underground apparatus.

"The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should be of assistance to the party to do its duty toward the revolution."

THESES & STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL Issued by T.O. of C.P.A.

"Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks."

THESES AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Pub. by Contemporary Publishing Assoc. New York, 1921 p 111.

The armaments of this type of insurrectionary force are not too difficult to obtain. Small arms like revolvers, light machine guns or tommy guns, rifles, hand grenades or simple incendiaries like "Molotov cocktails" are usually sufficient for this purpose and they are not difficult to obtain either by direct purchase, bribery or smuggling from outside. They may also be obtained by practice raids on hardware stores, isolated police stations and other arms depots.

While I am at it, I may as well trace for you a pattern of operation of such an insurrectionary force more closely related to modern warfare, which has been anticipated as part of the insurrectionary pattern taught in the Moscow colleges, but

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This has to do with coordination of an underground organization with an enemy air force capable of supplying superior armament to such an organization and reinforcing it with trained combatants and experienced combat leaders parachuted from the air. As we know from our own operations in World War II, this can also be done by the use of submarines operating in concert with an underground organization functioning inside our Area of Command. If with the development of air power and submarine warfare such a thing should become possible also with reference to the Communist underground in the U.S., then all estimates of danger from such an underground combat organization will have to be sharply revised.

The insurrectionary force is the "guts" of the Communist Party, but it is only part of the quasi-military set-up of the Party. One may seize a city with a compact guerilla force of this type, but one cannot hold it as long as the Government has a reliable force at its command and has the will to use it. It is essential, therefore, and this must be considered a very important part of the preparations for the seizure of power, to carry out, prior to any insurrection, certain types of infiltration activities in the armed forces that bear direct relation to it.

I will now give the second part of the plan:

1. Infiltrate by secret organization the armed forces of the U.S. and carry out demoralization work therein.
2. Infiltrate the Administrative and, if possible, the policy making set-up of the Government in order to obstruct, sabotage, demoralize and deviate Government action against the insurrectionists.
3. Infiltrate the decisive transportation and communication set-up of the country to impede a rapid or large scale mobilization of the Government's forces against the insurrectionists.
4. Infiltrate decisive armament industries in order to obstruct and sabotage their operation, especially during periods of war, and utilize the same to help arm the insurrectionists.

"Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be carried on in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization."

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America. 1920 p 26-27

The infiltration organizations above-indicated are an essential and vital part of the whole quasi-military set-up of the Communist Party and one of its by-products is political, military and technical espionage in the interests of the U.S.S.R. 17

In fact, one of the chief characteristics that differentiates the Communist

Party from other parties is that the Communist Party is basically an infiltration organization, operating by stealth, camouflage and deceit. Small compact groups of a few dozen men have been known to take over large labor unions, spreading their grip and influence as they go along. The same methods have and are being used to infiltrate our colleges and our technological and literary intelligentsia associations and so forth.

The surface or above-ground set-up of the Communist Party is, in fact, only a media to recruit members for its concealed infiltration operations in all walks of life.

Depending on the international situation of a country, this type of Party organization could be and has been able to seize control in certain countries when from five to twenty percent of the population was in sympathy with it.

To perhaps illustrate the effect of this kind of method with a case close to home, let us take for example a huge labor union like the United Electrical and Machine Workers Union, which was a participant in the Robeson Peekskill meeting. This union has been effectively controlled for the last ten years by a force of less than one percent of its membership. This one percent was the organized Communist groups operating within it. An even lesser percentage of Communist Party members controlled twelve national unions of the C.I.O. having a membership of 1,500,000. I am not suggesting that the Communist Party in this country is, at this time, ready to carry out the insurrectionary plans indicated above, nor do I suggest that the so-called "security guard" is at this time a force sufficiently qualified and organized to attempt the seizure of New York City, but I do say that it is the beginning of such a force; else its existence would have no sense whatsoever in the total plans, activities and program as taught by the High Command in Moscow and as practiced by many of the Communist Parties all over the world.

COMMUNIST CONTROLLED LABOR UNIONS

[REDACTED] the Red International
[REDACTED] with Solomon Lozovsky, its General Secretary.

As you will see from the quotations I will make of Lozovsky's views, labor unions play an important role in the Communists' plans of organizing quasi-military formations and this accounts, to a large extent, to the heavy participation of Communist controlled unions in the Peekskill affair and the "security guard" deployed there.

"...it is necessary from the very inception of a strike to commence organizing defense corps, drawing into these corps the most active group of workers.

"It is especially desirable to draw into the picket-line and into the workers' defense corps, members of the workers' sport organizations."

PROBLEMS OF STRIKE STRATEGY. Decisions of the International Conference on Strategy held in Stuttgart, Germany, January, 1929. Foreward by A. Losovsky. Preface to American Edition by Bill Donne. Pub. for T.U.U.L. by Workers Library Publishers New York City. p 29-30

The Communists are not labor unionists; they only use the labor unions as the would use a melon to suck all the strength out of them. They use labor unions as engines of disruption of the capitalist economic system. They use these unions to finance Communist Party activities and pad their payrolls with Communist personnel. They use labor unions to recruit the rough and tumble element for their "assault" or "guerilla" groups. They use them as the heavy artillery in the day-to-day economic and political warfare they conduct against capitalistic society.

The following quotation from Communist sources indicates what the High Command in Moscow says on this subject:

"The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions carries not peace but a sword to the bourgeoisie of all countries. This defines the essence of our activity. Our program is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; a ruthless class war on an international and national scale and a close unseverable alliance with the Communist International."

SOURCE: International Trade and Industrial Unions by S. Losovsky p. 59, Published by Union Publishing Association, N.Y.

While building up their forces for the seizure of power, the Communists are very much interested in building up the unions - the very opposite of what they do after the seizure of power, when they proceed to take the dorsal spine out of them.

Communist controlled unions which as a rule, are engaged in continued strife against the employers and the State are an ideal training ground for all types of warfare, and Communist guerilla groups or "goon" squads incubate in them as germs would in a plague spot; hence, the prevalence of this type of "squad" amongst the "security guard" display at Peekskill.

"The individual daily struggles of the workers against capitalist exploitation in which you participated at various times on various occasions, are really not isolated and separate events, but constitute so many links in one chain - the chain of class struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, a struggle which aims at the overthrow of capitalist rule, the abolition of the capitalist system, and the building up of Socialism as the first stage of Communism, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet government."

Pamphlet: THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN ACTION by Alex Bittleman. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, New York City, April, 1932, p 6.

"Whatever fighting has been done in the last few years for higher wages and unemployment insurance and relief was done under a revolutionary leadership with the closest participation of the Communists, who are in favor of the overthrow of the capitalist system by force."

WHY COMMUNISM? By E. J. Olgin. Workers Library Publishers, 1933, p 71.

"... We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery, preventing them from working smoothly in behalf of the masters." **IBID** p 86.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the Communists are merely reckless. There is a design in their method. Once they possess themselves of the union in a strategic field like the Electrical Appliances industry, they are willing to wait, temporize and compromise in order to hold on and entrench themselves for the day when their strength in such a strategic industry will count for the most. The day may be one of a crisis in the country or a war in which the Communists want to defeat their own Government. When that day comes they will roll into action when and where it hurts most as they did during the East-Soviet Pact of 1939-1941 when they used alleged grievances to pull the workers out on strike and kept them out for a long time in such strategic plants as the Allis-Chalmers plant in Wisconsin, the North American and Boeing Aviation plants in the Northwest, etc.

In the case of war against the U.S.S.R., the following quotation indicates the line of behavior prescribed for Communist controlled unions:

"The Trade Union Unity League fights militantly against the impending capitalist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The slogan, 'not a man, not a cent, not a gun for militarist war'...It seeks to mobilize the great masses of workers against war by organizing strikes, demonstrations, etc....In the event of a militarist war, it will mobilize the workers to struggle against American militarists and to transform this war into a class war against the capitalist system."

SOURCE: Trade Union Unity League, American Section of the Red International of Labor Unions - p. 28. Published by The Trade Union Unity League, New York, N.Y.

The above quotation is based on the instructions of the Red International of Labor Unions and has been the standing policy of the Communists throughout the years.

Instructions regarding Self-Defense Corps:

"Police terror during strikes and demonstrations have been greatly intensified recently. In most cases, however, the masses have not shown sufficient resistance. Such a situation must be overcome by organizing mass self defense corps on a factory basis, drawing into them both the employed as well as the unemployed workers. Their task must be to impart an organized character to the workers defense against the violence of the police, fascists and social-fascists during economic struggles, demonstrations and other movements of the workers to guard workers' meetings, organize pickets to fight scabbing. The self-defense corps must not be considered as special self-sufficing organizations - they are an auxiliary mass organization for the revolutionary trade union movement, and consequently must be directly led by the latter. The methods of the self-defense corps must be very flexible and assume various forms, depending upon the local conditions."

Article: THE TASKS OF THE T.U.U.L. (Resolution adopted by the 8th Session of the P.I.L.U., Central Council). Magazine LABOR UNITY, June, 1932, N.Y., p 9.

This is corroborated by Moscow:

"To organize the armed struggle it is necessary to form workers' detachments and an organization of the defensive and offensive of the working class."

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS - Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions. Pub. by Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, Ill., 1924. p 21.

At least one-third of the membership of the Communist Party in the United States, that is, about 25,000, are engaged in labor union activity. These members are amongst the most effective of their mass organizers and mass tacticians. They, together with their quasi-military guerilla groups or "goons", are the strong "spine" of the whole Communist movement.

The activities of all Communists in the labor unions throughout the world are coordinated by the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the successor to the Red International of Labor Unions; but the policies of the Red International of Labor Unions which have been initiated and approved by the High Command in Moscow still continue to guide all their activities.

Another contingent taking part in the Robeson Peekskill demonstration is the Labor Youth League, successor of the American Youth for Democracy, which in turn was the successor of the Young Communist League. According to the Daily Worker of September 9, 1949, the Labor Youth League held a special city-wide meeting to protest the violence suffered by them at the Peekskill demonstration. The meeting was held at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Avenue, N.Y., with Jack Stachel, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and one of the eleven convicted in Judge Medina's court, as the principal speaker.

COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Jack Stachel, former organization secretary of the Communist Party and of late, the head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Party, has been known [REDACTED] as one of the Party's ablest organization strategists. He was formerly a high official of the Young Communist League. He is well versed in the plans the Moscow High Command have for infiltration activities amongst the youth of this country. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] acquainted with these plans.

"The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues, in close connection with the Party, and parallel with the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars, must carry on a special agitation, propaganda and education for the inevitability of the civil war, the necessity for military preparation and the arming of the proletariat, and the right to defend the proletarian revolution by force of arms, that is to say, the creation of the armed proletarian power, the Red Army."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Published by the E.C.I. of the Y.C.I. p 52. Printed in Sweden, 1924.

"WE MUST PREPARE OURSELVES FOR THE CIVIL WAR ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE."

Second Session, 17th of July, 1924. Special Congress Report Number, Y.C.I. REVIEW, Nov. 1924, p 3.

As you can see again, the main motive of this plan is a military one.

1. It aims at the ideological disintegration and demoralization of the American youth in general.
2. Infiltration of all youth organizations, colleges, universities and other strategic spots for the purpose of stimulating disaffection and disloyalty to our institutions and recruiting members and sympathizers for the Communist movement.
3. Utilizing the organization thus created for infiltration in the Armed Services, technological laboratories, etc.

Much of the ideological disintegration and demoralization work is done through secret organization amongst the teaching staff, infiltration of teachers' unions, the movies and through textbooks, etc. The activity amongst the teaching staffs is co-ordinated with the activities of the Young Communist League, now known as the Labor Youth League, by the leading committees of the Communist Party, the Party being the over-all coordinator of all such activities.

The military motive in this special youth set-up can be seen from their own documents:

"Particularly necessary is the military training and education of members of the Young Communist Leagues, under the direction of the Communist Party."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL p 102. Published by Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

The Communist Youth Organizations take in youngsters up to the age of 24, after which they are transferred into the Communist Party. A considerable part of the youth membership is recruited from the Communist controlled labor unions, where they become part of their "goon" squads, sports leagues, veterans groups, etc.

COMMUNIST VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

The Communists started their own veterans' organizations in the late '20s, known as the Workers' Ex-Service Men's Leagues, which by methods of infiltration nearly captured the great Bonus March in Washington, D.C. in 1932. It was their successful and concealed infiltration activities amongst the great mass of discontented veterans encamped in Washington at that time which caused the Government under President Hoover to disperse the Bonus Army as a menace to the security of the Capital. The leaders of the Communist wing of the Bonus March were John T. Pace and Emanuel Levine, both of them known to me personally.

In 1936, the Communist Party created the United States Veterans, Incorporated, into which the elements of the Workers' Ex-Service Men's League merged. After World War II, the Communists participated in the formation of the American Veterans' Committee (A.V.C.). In the last two years they have been dislodged from the positions

of control at national level by liberals led by Michael Straight. The most recent effort at Communist-inspired veterans organization is the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, formed in Chicago, Illinois about two years ago. Then there is the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Communist Party recruitment for the Civil War in Spain.

It is alleged that twelve thousand Communists were in the Armed Services during World War II and that the activities of these Communist veterans were directed by a secret committee headed by J. Peters, recently deported from the United States.

According to available information, a Veterans' Commission of the Communist Party is now directing the activities of these veterans.

The great majority of Communist World War II veterans are not, at the present time, in any single veterans organization, but are spread all over inside the Communist controlled labor unions, sport clubs, and "zoon" squads; others are busy infiltrating the regular veterans organizations like the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc.

A large number of these veterans were present in the "security guard" at Peekskill, as can be seen by the military behavior and leadership of this "guard". We have been unable to determine their exact number, but according to the Daily Worker:

"These men, most of them ex-GI's had a solid ring around the concert grounds before Robeson was scheduled to appear. By 8 a.m. more than 1,000 were present, about an hour later there were about 3,500."

DAILY WORKER, Sept. 12, 1949, p 4. Article: Why Unionists Guarded Concert - written by Bernard Burton.

From all available information it appears that the "security guard" does not exist as a formal organization and that the Communist Party at this time prefers to keep this force organized under various camouflages instead of within a formal organization.

CONCLUSIONS

The Communist Party, in our opinion, organized the Peekskill demonstration as a deliberate provocation, similar to methods used by the Nazis when, prior to their seizure of power in Germany, they invaded Jewish or Catholic neighborhoods with their demonstrations and troopers. The Communist Party, which advocates the destruction of democratic society, does not confine itself to mere advocacy of force and violence, but organizes that force in order to effectively carry out its program.

The Communist Party's intention to form and maintain a quasi-military organization is implicit in its continued efforts in the formation of such groups in the past and in the present, and in the declared intentions and directives of the Moscow

Masters. It is implicit in the actions of other larger Communist Parties, acting under the orders of the same Masters. The Communist Party's display of its "fangs" at Peekskill should be appraised in the light of the whole of its activity, past and present, and the Communist Party's program which calls for the formation of such organizations.

To make it clear once again:

"The overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS.
RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.
1928. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, N.Y.C. 2nd Edition, July, 1934, p. 10.

The fact is that the whole Communist Party is set up as a political warfare organization against the society and government under which we live.

"Stalin compares the Party to the general staff of an army. The Party is the general staff of the working class revolutionary army, leading the war against capitalism."

Pamphlet: THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN ACTION by Alex Bittleman. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, N.Y.C., April 1932, p 23.

Stalin himself, describes the Communist Party as a warfare force with the top leadership as the General Staff and from there on down in the order of their importance he describes the other officials as Major Generals, Lieutenant Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, with the plain members of the Party being designated as Sergeants and Corporals, with Stalin, himself, as the top Generalissimo.

Stalin makes clear the meaning of dictatorship:

"The scientific concept of dictatorship means nothing more nor less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules... Dictatorship means - note this once and for all... unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law."

(Collected Works, Vol. XIV, pp. 441 and 436, Russian Edition.)
Pamphlet: PROBLEMS OF LENINISM by Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, N.Y., 1934, P. 25

When the Party creates such a quasi-military force under whatever camouflage, it is but a branch growing off the same tree; namely the Communist Party. The whole tree would have to be cut down to do away with it.

Under present legislation, this cannot be done and none of the highly camouflaged methods that the Communist Party uses to create such a force can be reached or even seriously interfered with under present laws.

The Communist Party is a type of enemy organization, operating inside our borders, which takes full advantage of our liberal Constitutional set-up and grows, as it were, while we sleep. It is an enemy, the precise likes of which we have not confronted before and which we must learn to fight by trial and error. As against the atom bomb

and the submersible submarine, entirely new methods and processes will have to be found to combat it. Our old methods, although helpful, are not likely to be able to cope with it.

N.B. The above material was confidentially supplied to the National Americanian Commission for its sole guidance and information. It is released to you by the N.A.C. with the distinct understanding that this is a privileged confidential document and in no way whatever commits either the N.A.C. or the American Legion. The material was prepared by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The N.A.C. makes no representations with respect to the material itself, charges made, or conclusions drawn which are the sole responsibility of the person who prepared the report who is favorably and long known to the [REDACTED] of the N.A.C.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) Department of State, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters file 100-12304 Not Recorded, dated
March 22, 1950.

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: May 9, 1950

On the night of May 6, 1950, Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] utilized the services of GNDI LA CD-63 for the purpose of recording a meeting sponsored at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles, by the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the IWO. The announcement in the "Daily Peoples World" for May 5, 1950, reported that the occasion would be the Twentieth Anniversary celebration of the JPFO, featuring PAUL ROBESON in a program of songs. It also indicated that he was slated to make a talk apart from the entertainment. C-1
b7c

The chairman of the evening was listed as SADIE DOROSHKIN, Los Angeles Executive Secretary of the JPFO and the principal speaker as RUBEN SALTZMAN, General Secretary of the JPFO and National Vice President of the IWO. L

The detailed information concerning this meeting will be set forth in separate reports emanating from this office. The Bureau, however, is being furnished at this time with a verbatim transcript of the comments made by PAUL ROBESON, being made at the conclusion of the musical portion of ROBESON's appearance. His off-hand comments are as follows:

"I just want to say before I go that I was happy when I came in, and it's wonderful to know and to experience this kind of spirit and courage in Los Angeles. I've been going across the country-----as you know, we hear a lot of nonsense, about fear et cetera, but I've seen the people from below, among the Negro people, among the Jewish people, among the foreign born, among the workers who are saying that we are going to have peace in our time, we're gonna have a decent world for our children whoever they may be, whether they be black or white. I've seen those kind of people and they aren't frightened, they aren't stepping back any more than you are stepping back here tonight, and I wanta thank you for this feeling of courage that you give to me, and I am sure to those others who come into your midst. It's nice to know, going about this America, fighting as the song said, for our kind of America, not a reactionary America but an America of the people - that kind of an America that I said before that I love to the depth of my being, but the other America, the fascist

Air Mail

ETW:DAK

100-25861

cc: New York

100-30398

INDEXED - 19

RECORDED - 19

EX-125

100-12304-192
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/9/50 BY SP-5 RJS

COPIES DESTROYED 4-3-54

America, I will fight against it with every fiber....."

(At this point, ROBESON was building up considerable emotion and reached almost a point of frenzy when he concluded this last sentence, part of which was blurred out because of the applause and reaction of the audience joining in the spirit of his remarks.)

ROBESON continued, "Though I would tell you of the strength that I find going about this America of ours and to remind you that all around the world today the people are on the march. We are winning this struggle and nothing can set the world back but upon our shoulders in this great land is a very very deep responsibility, a responsibility to live up to what we must in our times, and it isn't easy. It means working everyday, broadening this base among millions and millions of Americans who wait to hear our message, having the courage to stand and fight and never give ground. That is our responsibility which we must carry on to our children yet unborn. I am sure that those responsibilities we shall accept. That battle we can win and I wanta thank you for being part of that vanguard in this great historic time."

It may be noted that the songs rendered by ROBESON were not only in English but also some in Russian and others in Jewish.

These records will be made an exhibit in the Los Angeles Office.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD-36

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APRIL 11, 1950

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

11

3p

DIRECTOR

URGENT

CPUSA, IS-C. REOURTEL THIS DATE RE SODAC, IS-R, [REDACTED] ADVISES, b1
PAUL ROBESON TO BE AT HOME OF MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM J. REYS, FOUR EIGHT SIX
THREE POTOMAC AVE., NW., FOR A RECEPTION AT EIGHT THIRTY PM APRIL TWELVE,
FIFTY. SELECTED PERSONS BEING INVITED BY FORMAL INVITATION TO MEET HIM
THERE. FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

HOTTEL

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSG/KIM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

JEH:MAH

100-421

CC: New York (Mail)
Baltimore (Mail)

RECORDED - 132

INDEXED - 132

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI.

FROM : SAC, New York.

SUBJECT: PAUL LEROY ROBESON,
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.
(Bufile 100-12304)

DATE: 5/15/50

ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

Transmitted herewith are handwriting specimens of the subject which were obtained from the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C. and which the Bureau is requested to place in the Communist Key Figure handwriting file maintained by the Bureau.

Encl. (2)

cc: NY 100-96900

2 ENCL.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
104MAT:DJG
100-25857

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 12/9/60

SP5 RJG/CM

RECORDED - 126

100-12304-194

MAY 16 1950

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MAY 16 1950

RECEIVED

55 MAY 26 1950

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU

RE: NY 100-25857

ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

100

January 24, 1949

Passport Division
Department of State
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have been booked for a series of concert engagements in Europe during February, March, April and May, in England, Eire, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and all the Scandinavian countries. For this reason I am requesting an extension of my attached passport. These concerts have been booked by my managers, Columbia Artists Management, Inc., 113 West 57th Street, New York.

I would appreciate your attention to this request so that I may obtain the required visas for the countries listed.

~~RESTRICTION~~

With thanks,

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

This Passport, if properly vised, is valid for 1 year in any country except Germany, Austria, Trieste, the main islands of Sicily or China.

Before travel to any of the above named places, an appropriate visa must be affixed to this passport in the United States. It is granted showing the passport and statement of the Department of State. It is valid for 1 year abroad, except for Japan and with an appropriate visa.

THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL TO YUGOSLAVIA.

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and that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at 321 W. 138th St.
in the State of New York, where I follow the occupation of Actor & student.
My last passport was obtained from _____, on _____
and was _____ (Disposition of passport.)
I am about to go abroad temporarily; and I
intend to return to the United States within 3 {months} {years} with the purpose of residing and per-
forming the duties of citizenship therein; and I desire a passport for use in visiting the countries
hereinafter named for the following purpose:

England
(Name of country.)

Shakespeare
(Object of visit.)

(Name of country.)

(Object of visit.)

(Name of country.)

(Object of visit.)

I intend to leave the United States from the port of New York
sailing on board the Celtic on July 1, 1922
(Port of departure.) (Date of departure.)

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States
against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and
that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help me God.

Paul Henry Rubens
(Signature of applicant.)

Sworn to before me this _____ day

1261 12 NW, 1922

James H. L.
Clerk of the _____ Court at _____

(SEAL OF COURT)

* A person born in the United States should submit a birth or baptismal certificate with his application, or if the birth was
not recorded, affidavits from the attending physician, parents, or other person having sufficient knowledge to be able to testify
as to the place and date of the applicant's birth.

† If the applicant's father was born in this country, lines should be drawn through the blanks in brackets.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PASSPORT APPLICATION

FORM FOR NATIVE CITIZEN

(Rev. 10-1-34)

58303

APR 15 - 1947

OF THE STATE OF AMERICA

Sign and attach PART TWO of application of citizenship only to be included in passport

DATE OF

COUNTY OF

Paul Robeson

a Citizen of the United States

do hereby apply to the Department of State, at Washington, for a passport. I solemnly swear that I was born at

Paterson, Mercer New Jersey April 9 - 18

I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at

Englewood, New York

I have resided outside the United States as follows:

England from 1928 to 1937

Place name of, and period of residence in, each foreign country

My father William D. Robeson

on 1845, and is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

(The following portion to be filled in only by a person who has been in the United States)

My father emigrated to the United States on or about 1845, resided

years continuously in the United States from 1 to 1, and was naturalized as a citizen of the United

States before the 1 Court of 1

at 1 (City and State)

My mother Lucretia Rustel

on 1855, and is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

(The following portion to be filled in only by a person who has been in the United States)

My mother emigrated to the United States on or about 1855, resided

years continuously in the United States from 1 to 1, and was naturalized as a citizen of the United

States before the 1 Court of 1

at 1 (City and State)

My mother Lucretia Rustel

on 1855, and is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

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years continuously in the United States from 1 to 1, and was naturalized as a citizen of the United

States before the 1 Court of 1

at 1 (City and State)

THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL IN ANY COUNTRY OUTSIDE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

APR 29 1947

not was obtained from Washington about July 31-'90
(Name of person or institution from which obtained)
and herewith for cancellation on return to U.S. on about Sept 6-'90
(Date of expiration of passport, if known to applicant)
I intend to leave the United States from the port of Newark & Miami Bay
(Port of departure)
on May 24 1947 on board the TT
(Date of departure) (Name of ship or aircraft)
I intend to visit the following countries for the purpose indicated:
Panama, Cuba, Mexico. Concerts
(Names of countries to be visited) (Purpose of visit)
and I intend to return to the United States within 1 month months.
(Period)

I request that my passport be mailed to the following address:

Name PAUL ROBESON
Number and street 22 East 89th St.
City, town, and State Manhattan - New York City

DESCRIPTION AND PHOTOGRAPH OF APPLICANT

Height 6 ft. 3 inches

Hair Black

Eyes Brown

Distinguishing marks or features Scars over each eye
(State any marks or scars on hands or face)

Place of birth Frederick, New Jersey
(City and State)
Date of birth April 9-1895
(Month, day, and year)
Occupation Concert artist & actor



I solemnly swear that the statements made on both sides of this application are true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

I have not been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or process to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against, the United States.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; to help me God.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11 day of May 1947

Place of Court New York City

Notary of the State of New York

AFFIDAVIT OF IDENTIFYING WITNESS

I, the undersigned, solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States; that I reside at the address written below my signature hereto affixed; that I know the applicant who executed the affidavit hereinbefore set forth to be a citizen of the United States; that the statements made in the applicant's affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief; further, I solemnly swear that I have known the applicant personally for 12 years.

If witness has been issued a passport, give number if known and date of expiration date of issue.

No. 101 Date of issue 1947

If, before or after issue, the passport has been renewed or extended to arrive a fee for its service is attached, give the number of the application or obtaining the passport.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11 day of May 1947

Place of Court New York City

Notary of the State of New York

Court of New York City

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Subject Series No. 7-2014
Approved October 1, 1944

PASSPORT RENEWAL APPLICATION

in conformity with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State, application is hereby made for a renewal of the passport indicated.

Renewal Series No. 13652
Passport No. 58303
Issued on Aug 8, 1947
Issued at Washington, D. C.

Name Paul Robinson
Place of birth Princeton, N. J. Date of birth April 4, 1898

THIS SECTION MUST BE FILLED IN BY ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE ACQUIRED CITIZENSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE OR NATURALIZATION AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Since my present passport was issued I have been outside of the United States at the following places for the periods stated:

From _____ to _____
From _____ to _____
From _____ to _____

The purposes of my visits to the foregoing countries were as follows (give reasons or reasons for stay in each country named): _____

MAILING ADDRESS
(Print complete address plainly)

% ROBERT ROCKMURE
10 EAST 40 ST.
NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have not been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against, the United States.

Paul Robinson
(Signature of applicant)

(DO NOT USE THIS SPACE)

Application and passport submitted for Department's consideration

by _____ Agency, on _____
(Print name of agency) (Date)

Received by _____ Agency, JAN 25 1949
(Initials or signature) (Date)

For two years from today's date
(Date of expiration)

Until the 25 day of January, 1951
(Date of expiration)

(Agent, Department of State)

\$5.00 fee received by STATE (attached hereto)
(deposited by agency)

(Do not use this space)

11785

JAN 27 1949

ROBINSON PAUL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 13 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO
DIRECTOR, FBI

5-13-50

7-29 PM PDST

KMH

URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, SECURITY MATTER - C REMYTEL THIS DATE. ROBESON ADDRESSED
CROWD IN MARIN CITY WITHOUT INCIDENT.

KIMBALL

END AND ACK PLS

WA-7A

10-31 PM OK FBI WA HK

DIX

2- PLS ROLL BACK FOR ACK

57 MAY 23 1950

RECORDED - 38 100-12304-195
MAY 17 1950

EX-6

5-7-11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSB/CIM

192

Mr Ladd
Mr Belmont
Mr Clegg
Mr Glavin
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr Tracy
Mr Harbo
Mr Belmont
Mr Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 13 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO

5-13-50

4-23 PM PDST

DIRECTOR, FBI

PAUL ROBESON, SECURITY MATTER - C. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REPORTED AT THREE FIFTEEN PM, PDST, THIS DATE, THAT PAUL ROBESON WAS EXPECTED TO GIVE A SPEECH IN MARIN CITY SOMETIME AFTER FIVE THIRTY PM THIS AFTERNOON. MARIN CITY IS WAR TIME HOUSING DEVELOPMENT BUILT TO HOUSE WORKERS AT DEFUNCT MARINSHIP SHIPYARDS. IT IS NOW POPULATED BY APPROXIMATELY SIX THOUSAND PEOPLE OF THE WORKING CLASS, ABOUT HALF OF WHOM ARE NEGROES. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THIS MORNING POSTERS WERE PLACED IN MARIN CITY ANNOUNCING VISIT OF ROBESON AND INDICATING HE WOULD GIVE SPEECH IN MARIN CITY. [REDACTED] ADVISES THAT SOME ANTI-COMMUNIST NEGROES, IDENTITY AND NUMBER UNKNOWN, MAY BE PLANNING ANTI-ROBESON DEMONSTRATION. VARIOUS CI-S, SF, HAVE ADVISED PROBABILITY ROBESON WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY QUOTE HONOR GUARD UNQUOTE OF ONE HUNDRED OR MORE ALLEGEDLY PRO-COMMUNIST MEMBERS WATERFRONT UNION DESCRIBED BY CP STATE HEAD-QUARTERS, SF, AS QUOTE GOON SQUAD UNQUOTE AND THEREFORE, THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE AT MARIN CITY THIS EVENING. ONI, G-2, OSI LOCALLY ADVISED. NO ACTION BEING TAKEN BY THIS OFFICE AND BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

RECORDED - 75/100-12304-196
MAY 17 1950

56 MAY 23 1950

END AND ACK-PLS

AAU 7-27 PM OK FBI WA HK

DISC P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/80 BY SP5 RSC/MLM

193

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters File 100-12304-197

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XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: May 18, 1950

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

On May 18, 1950, [REDACTED] "Chicago Defender" newspaper, was contacted by Special Agent [REDACTED] in the course of a security investigation of [REDACTED]

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

At this time, [REDACTED] advised that about three weeks ago he heard a rumor was circulating amongst the negro people in the Chicago area that PAUL ROBESON was not the Communist he appeared to be, but was actually working for the FBI. [REDACTED] further advised at this time that he contemplated a trip to Washington, D. C. next week and he intended to see Mr. LOUIS NICHOLS, Assistant Director, FBI and inform him of this rumor.

[REDACTED], on being asked the identity of the person who had informed him of this rumor, stated he did not recall but he would determine who the person was and the source of this rumor, and make this information available to the FBI.

It is to be noted that [REDACTED] has in the past furnished information to the FBI and has always expressed a cooperative attitude in dealing with Agents of the FBI.

CB:LL
100-0

S-MET

RECORDED - 17

100-12304-198

EX-3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RJB/km

58 JUN 7 1950

195

SAC, New Haven

June 8, 1950

Director, FBI

MRS. PAUL ROBESON, wa.
SECURITY MATTER - C

105-11950-7
Attached for your information is a photostatic copy of a
memorandum dated 3-28-50, submitted to the San Francisco Office by
[REDACTED]

b7c/b7D

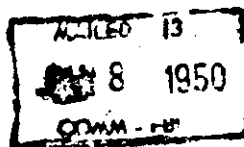
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Attachment

29314

GEI:kmb

kmb

RECORDED - 105



100-12307-199
JUN 14 1950
49

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RJG/km/y 2/

58 JUN 20 1950

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MEMORANDUM:

San Francisco, California
March 28 1950

Yesterday, a Mr. William F. Kerner (Residence 2114 Baker Street, San Francisco, Telephone: Fillmore 6-1739) telephoned saying he represented the Democratic Committee for Far Eastern Policy, and that Mr. Paul Robeson (Elsie Robeson) was now in San Francisco having just returned from China, and wanted very much to meet me. My secretary advised Mr. Kerner I was out of town but expected to return today and Mr. Kerner asked to hear from me as soon as possible with reference to an appointment.

This morning, through my secretary, I advised Mr. Kerner that I would be glad to meet Mrs. Robeson at any time, any place. This resulted in both Mr. Kerner and Mrs. Robeson calling on me in my office, at 11:00 a.m. and remaining until 12:15.

Mrs. Robeson told me she had been in Peiping late December and early January, where she had attended a meeting of a conference of some 500 women, called by the Chinese Communists. Women representatives from all parts of the world attended this meeting, although the greater number were Chinese. She mentioned that Chou en-lai had addressed them for over five hours at one session and had told them of the Government's plans, etc.

Mrs. Robeson had reached China, coming from Russia via the Trans-Siberia Railway and, before going home, had travelled by rail to Hanking and Shanghai, and then returned the same route — Trans-Siberian Railway — through Russia.

She had heard that I had advocated recognition of the Chinese Communists; and urged that I head a delegation of American businessmen, to go to China and discuss the matter of recognition with the heads of the Chinese Government,

San Francisco, California
MEMORANDUM March 28 1950

who, she assured me, really want trade channels between the United States and China opened up; and who, she assured me, want recognition to facilitate trade development — the Communists would welcome investment of private capital, etc.

I said, in the light of what had happened since last September — the Communists' treatment of Consul General Kero and others, culminating in the demand made at Peiping to surrender part of our Consul General's compound — it seemed evident that the Communists did not want U.S. recognition. I could not understand, if they did want it, why they took the action they did, because they must have known such action would only intensify the feeling against recognition in Congress and with the American public.

Mrs. Robeson seemed to agree that was so; but still felt the Communists want U.S. recognition.

I emphasized I was not for recognition so much from a business angle as

I was from my wish to keep Americans in China, whether they were businessmen, medical missionaries, teachers, or what not, if only to offset Moscow influence and teaching.

Then followed a general discussion on the Moscow type of government. I emphasized Russia's arbitrary actions in the United Nations — use of veto, extravagant, insulting statements — had, I thought, done more to turn American public feeling against Russia than anything else. Her unwillingness to let her nationals travel freely abroad, as well as restrictions she placed on Americans entering Russia, made it difficult for the peoples of the two countries to understand each other. From all accounts, Russia allowed her citizens to hear or read only what the Politburo wanted them to hear and read. Foreign correspondents were allowed little freedom.

San Francisco, California
March 28, 1950 MEMORANDUM

Mrs. Robeson said, twenty years ago, Russia encouraged American travel to Russia through the INFORMATION Bureau etc.; but, when she found so many Americans not reporting the truth, she had to clamp down the lid.

Mrs. Robeson seemed to think that Marshall Plan aid furnished western European countries carried restrictions — mentioned U.S. propaganda in Italy before the elections there two years ago, Italy didn't get American aid unless she voted right etc.

While Mrs. Robeson volunteered the statement she is not a Communist, she defended Moscow policies — no discrimination against negroes etc. while here in the U.S., especially in the South, plenty of discrimination.

I mentioned refusal of Chinese Communists to permit foreign correspondents to file dispatches; again countered by the statement that, if only correspondents told the truth, there would be no restrictions.

However, she seemed certain that if I wanted to go to China with a group of American businessmen to learn the truth, it could be arranged; asked when I wanted to go, to which I replied "Summer would be the best time — but don't take that as a commitment!"

Mrs. Robeson is a rather pleasing and attractive person, a persuasive person, apparently part white. She feels she can understand the Chinese Communists; they have been exploited just as the negroes have been exploited; and the fact that no race discrimination is practiced in Russia is one thing which appeals to her most.

San Francisco, California
MEMORANDUM March 28 1950

March 29, 1950

Thinking of our talk overnight, I am pretty well convinced that Mrs. Robeson, even if not a Communist, certainly is a party-line follower. She plays up all the good points of Communism and refuses to see what she must know are the bad points.

Apparently unwilling to concede that the standards of living and democracy in this country are, relatively speaking, further advanced in the U.S. than in other countries she has visited.

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